

**AMERICA'S WORST PRESIDENT?**  
The White House's 10 most shameful inhabitants



**BADASSES OF THE BARRICADES**  
Groundbreaking women of the French Revolution



**ALL ABOUT**

# HISTORY COPY

## DARK ARTS OF THE PLAGUE DOCTORS

- Quack Cures • Horror Surgeries
- Deadly Pandemics Decoded



**MUTINY,  
BLOOD &  
EMPIRE**  
Magellan's historic  
voyage around  
the world



## MYSTERIES OF MESOPOTAMIA



ISSUE 081  
**FUTURE DigitalEdition**



**Princess,  
Spy, Hero**  
The life and sacrifice  
of Noor Inayat Khan



**Alexander  
Vs Persia**  
Inside the decisive Hellenic  
victory over Darius III



Richard Borg

# MEMOIR '44

*New Flight Plan* • EXPANSION •



*"If we lose the war in the air, we lose the war,  
and we lose it quickly."*

*— Bernard L. Montgomery*

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**DAYS OF  
WONDER**





The Black Death is believed to have been a bubonic plague and is estimated to have killed between 75 and 200 million people across Europe and Asia between the 1330s and 1350s

# Welcome

In many parts of the world today, huge swathes of the population can still be decimated by the spread of lethal diseases and viruses. For the most part, the industrialised world has managed to stave off such pandemic events, but it wasn't so long ago in our history that Europe and Asia would regularly be ravaged by outbreaks of typhus, yellow fever and various forms of plague. Medical science has advanced enough to keep many of these catastrophic outbreaks at bay, but how were they handled in the past?

This issue we welcome Winston Black, a historian of medicine and religion in Medieval Europe, to walk us through the evolution of plague medicine, from quack cures to important medical breakthroughs. And of course we break down the truths and myths of plague medicine, such as just when the famous beak-masked doctors appeared and what those outfits were all about.

In this issue you'll also find stories of courageous women from the French Revolution and from WWII in Noor Inayat Khan, you'll hear from Mary Fulbrook about the aftermath of the Holocaust and the journey towards true justice for all of its victims, and you'll read about the bloody and contentious first circumnavigation of the globe by the Magellan-Elcano expedition. I hope you learn a great deal from these stories and everything else in this issue.

**Jonathan Gordon**  
Editor



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## Editor's picks

40



### The Quest For Justice

We speak with Wolfson History Prize-winning author Mary Fulbrook about her moving book *Reckonings* and finding justice for victims of the Holocaust

54



### Daughters Of The Storm

Melanie Clegg joins us again to look at the many women who fought for equality in the midst of the chaos and violence of the French Revolution

68



### The Worst US Presidents

Ben Gazur breaks down the careers of the presidents that American academics have consistently polled as the least worthy, the most corrupt and the most regrettable

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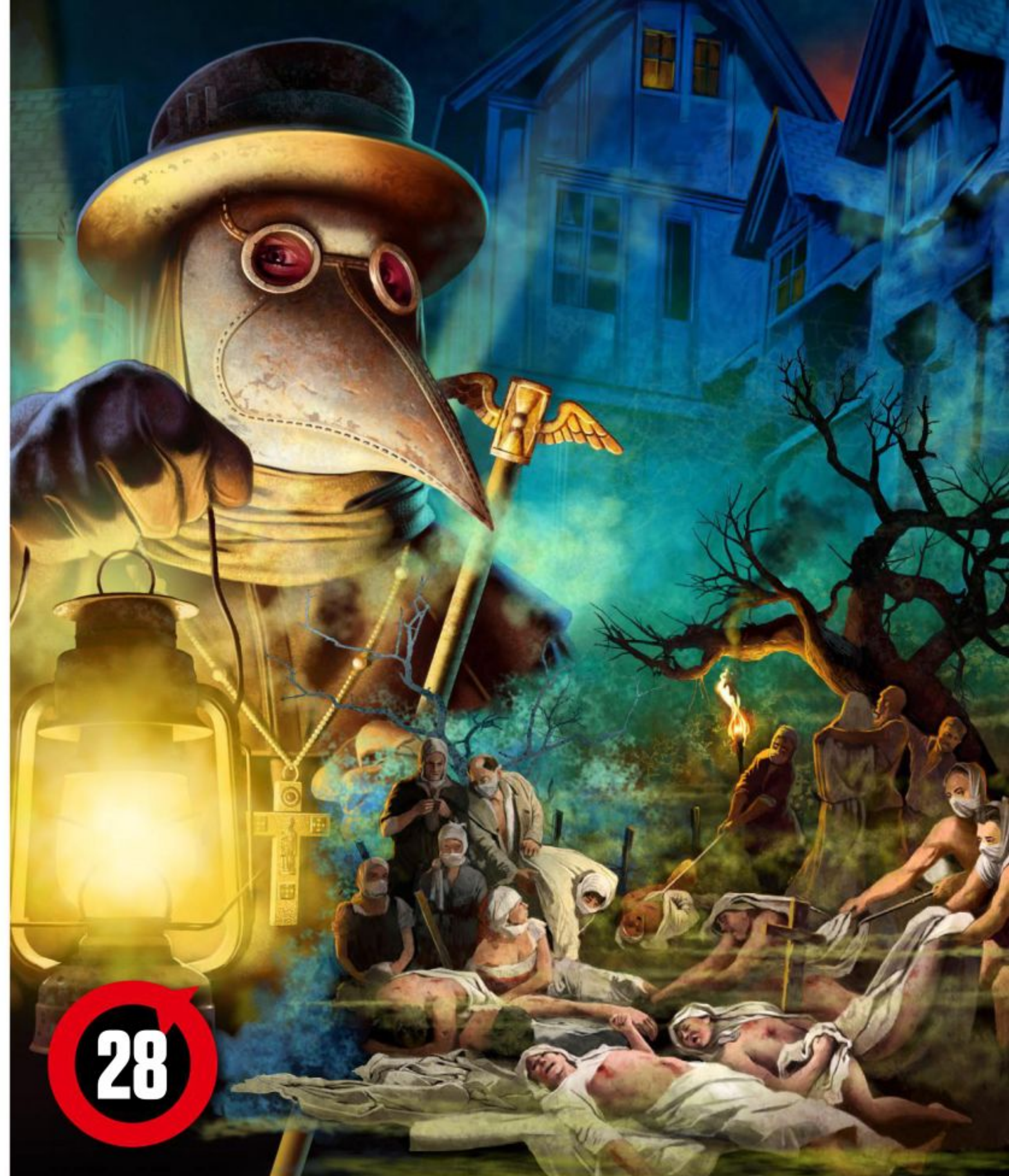
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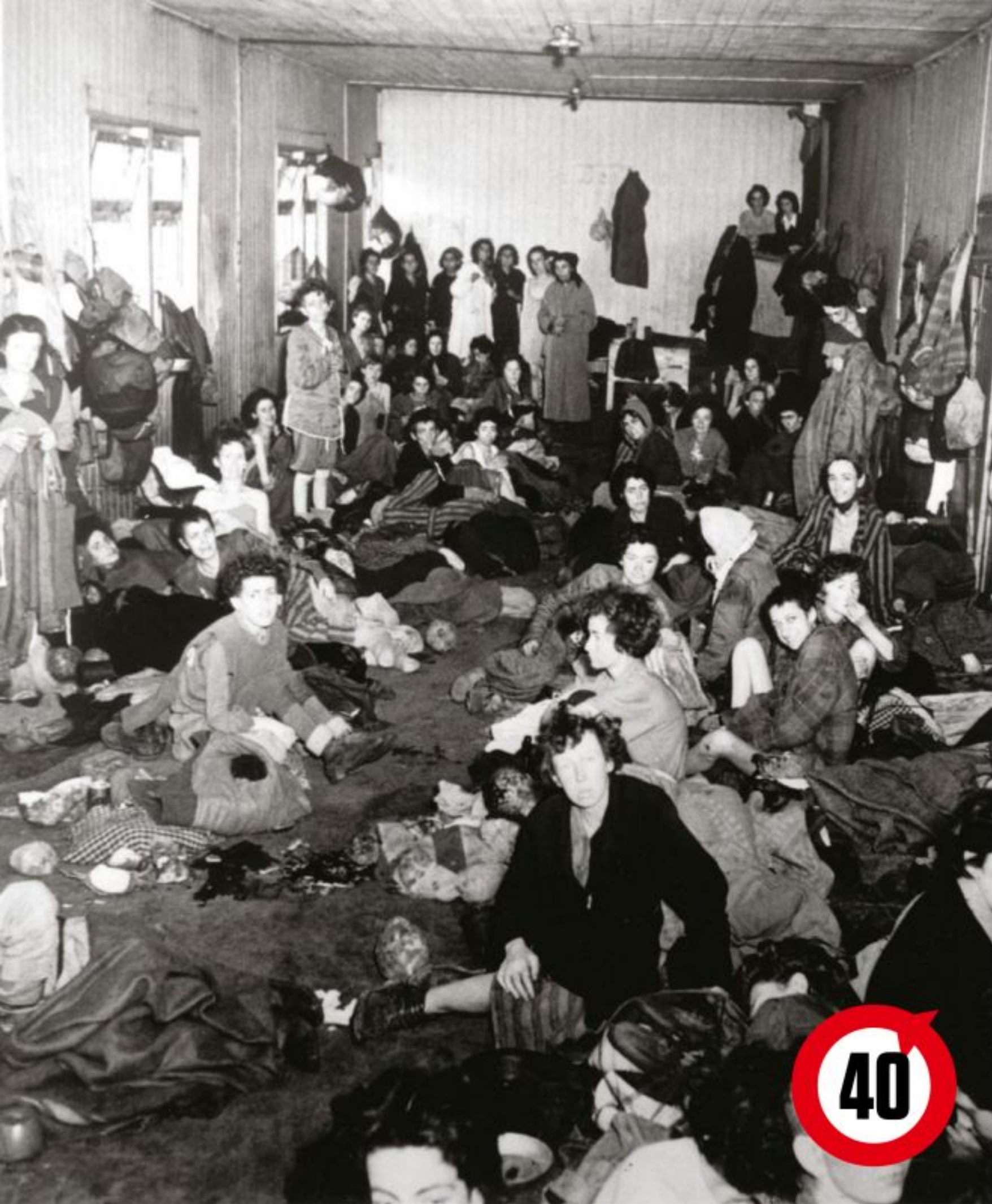
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How close to reality is the story of *BlackKklansman*?





## DEFINING MOMENTS

### PROTEST CHAIN

On 23 August 1989 around two million people from across the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania formed a human chain spanning 419.7 miles as a means of peacefully protesting against the Soviet Union, of which all three were still a part. The protests began as part of the 'Black Ribbon Day' protests marking the 50th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany in 1939.

1989













## DEFINING MOMENTS

### A MINI ICON

The British Motor Corporation's 1959 Austin Mini was a groundbreaking car in a number of respects. It achieved its small frame thanks to the engine and gearbox sitting together in less space than typical vehicles. This also meant they shared oil, which gets to the heart of the whole design philosophy by Alec Issigonis, which was for a more economical vehicle in response to feared oil shortages after the Suez Canal crisis.

1959





## DEFINING MOMENTS

### AGE OF AQUARIUS

When the Aquarian Exposition on a dairy farm in rural New York state was first announced the full social impact of what the music and peace festival was going to represent could not have been known. As it was, the organisers had expected around 200,000 people and the event attracted more than double that by most estimates. Woodstock, as it has become known, was a counter-cultural catalyst for the years to follow.

1969

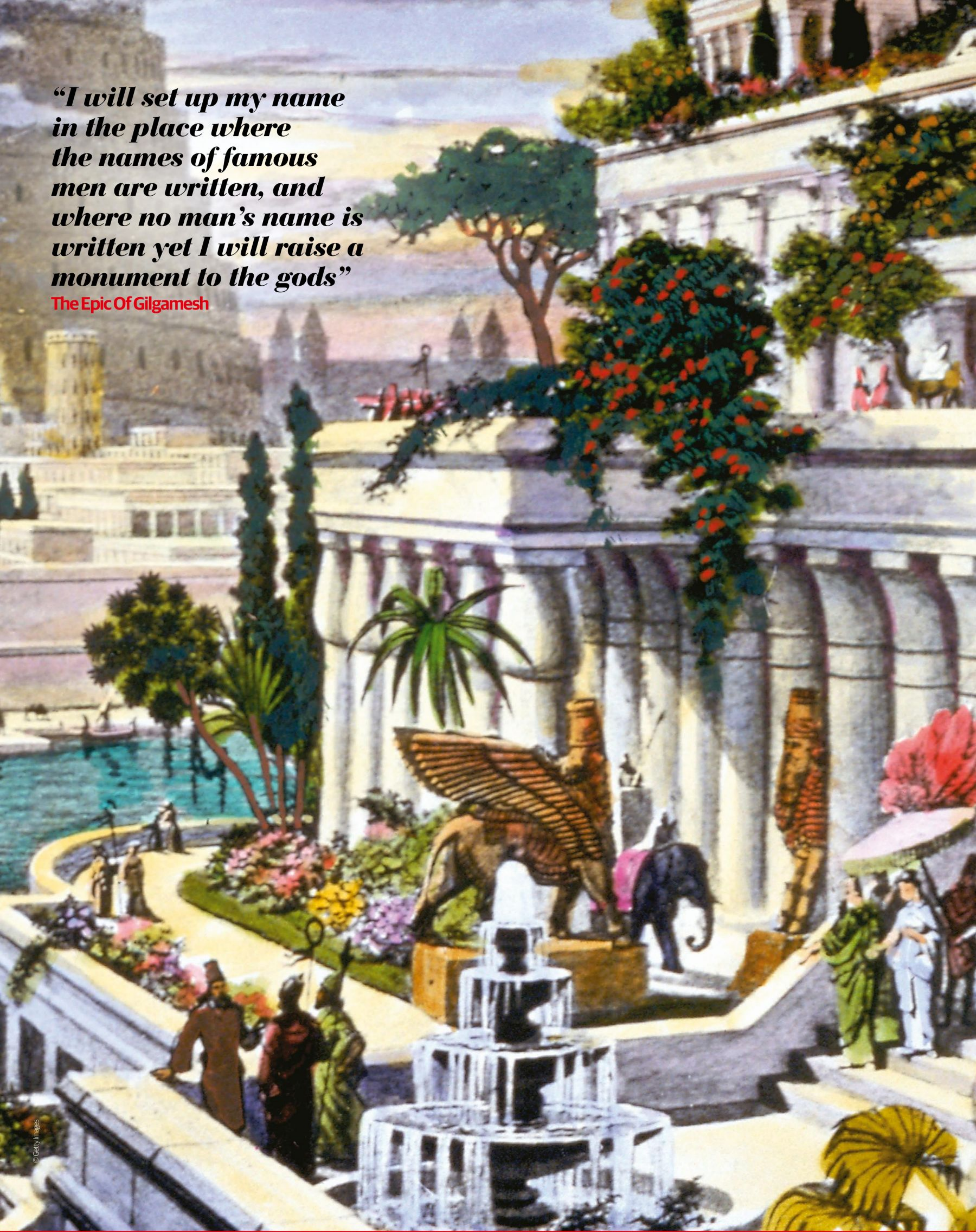






***“I will set up my name  
in the place where  
the names of famous  
men are written, and  
where no man’s name is  
written yet I will raise a  
monument to the gods”***

**The Epic Of Gilgamesh**

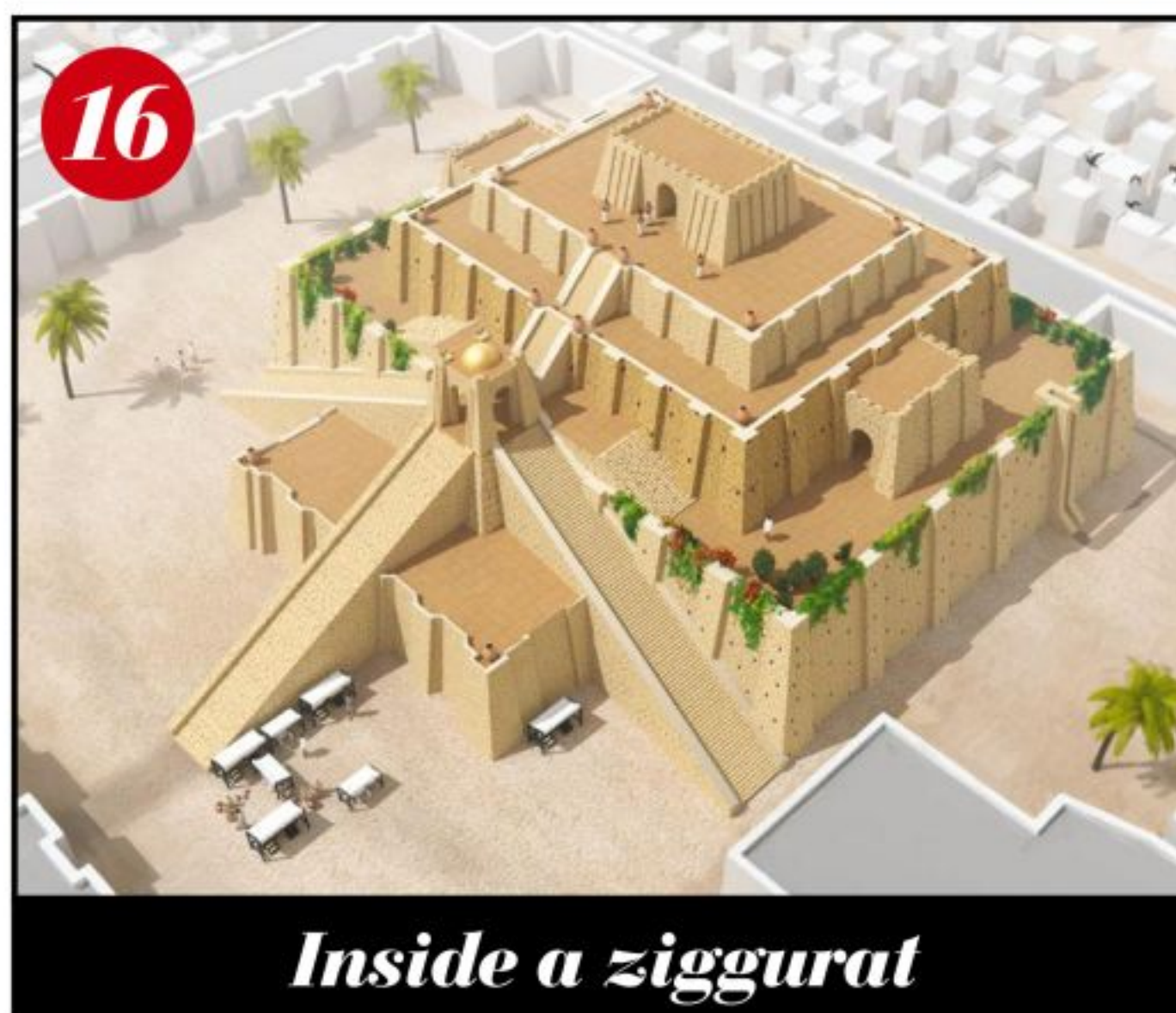






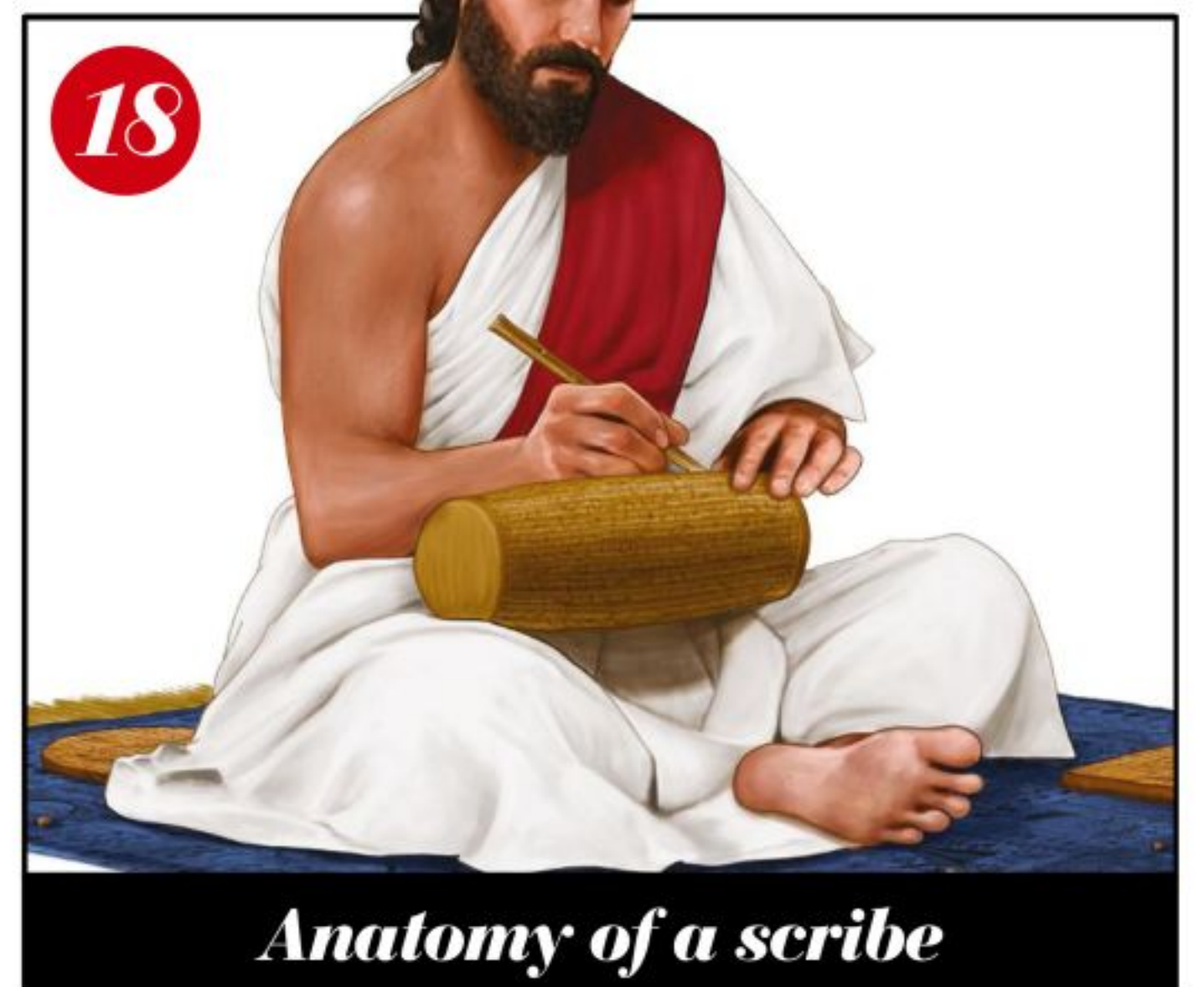
# ALL ABOUT ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

A closer look at the first known civilisation, its way of life and the contribution it made to the early history of humanity



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*Inside a ziggurat*



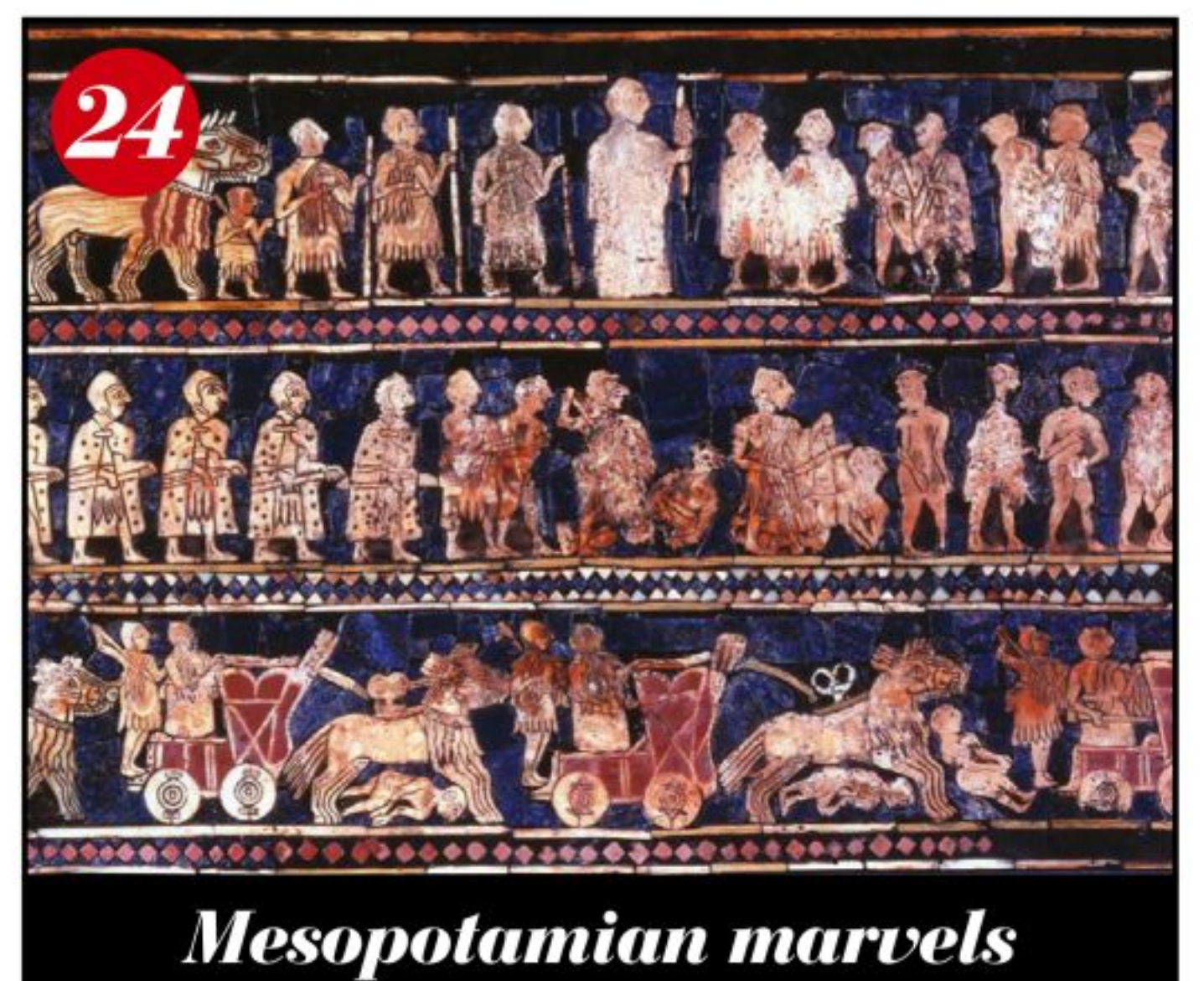
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*Anatomy of a scribe*



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*Bringing Mesopotamia to life*



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*Mesopotamian marvels*

Written by Katharine Marsh, Jonathan Gordon, Jessica Leggett, David Crookes





## ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

# Mesopotamia's Rise

### Gilgamesh rises to power 2800 BCE

Later to become a hero of legend, Gilgamesh becomes king of the city state of Uruk. The poem *Epic Of Gilgamesh* 1,000 years later is thought to have been a major influence on *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*.



### Did you know?

The first known city, Eridu, was built at the mouth of the Euphrates river

### FIRST ZIGGURATS BUILT

4000

Probably the most iconic and eye-catching remnants of the ancient Mesopotamian cultures, the ziggurat is aesthetically similar to the Egyptian pyramids that would follow it.



### AKKADIANS CONQUER SUMERIANS 2330

Led by Sargon of Akkad, the Akkadian Empire is born when his forces defeat and capture the Sumerian king at the Battle of Uruk.



### PEAK OF THE EMPIRE 2250

King Naram-Sin of Akkad reigns for 50 years, expanding the Akkadian Empire to its greatest extent and even proclaims himself a god.



5000 BCE = 4000 = 2800 = 2330 =

### THE CHARIOT EMERGES

3200

Having already invented the wheel, the next big step up for transportation and warfare was using them on a mounted platform, pulled by animals.



### THE FIRST CARTOGRAPHIC SURVEY 2300

The first example of cartography, a map known as the Gasur tablet, is thought to date back to this year, making it the earliest known example of the craft.



### FIRST CODE OF LAWS

2100

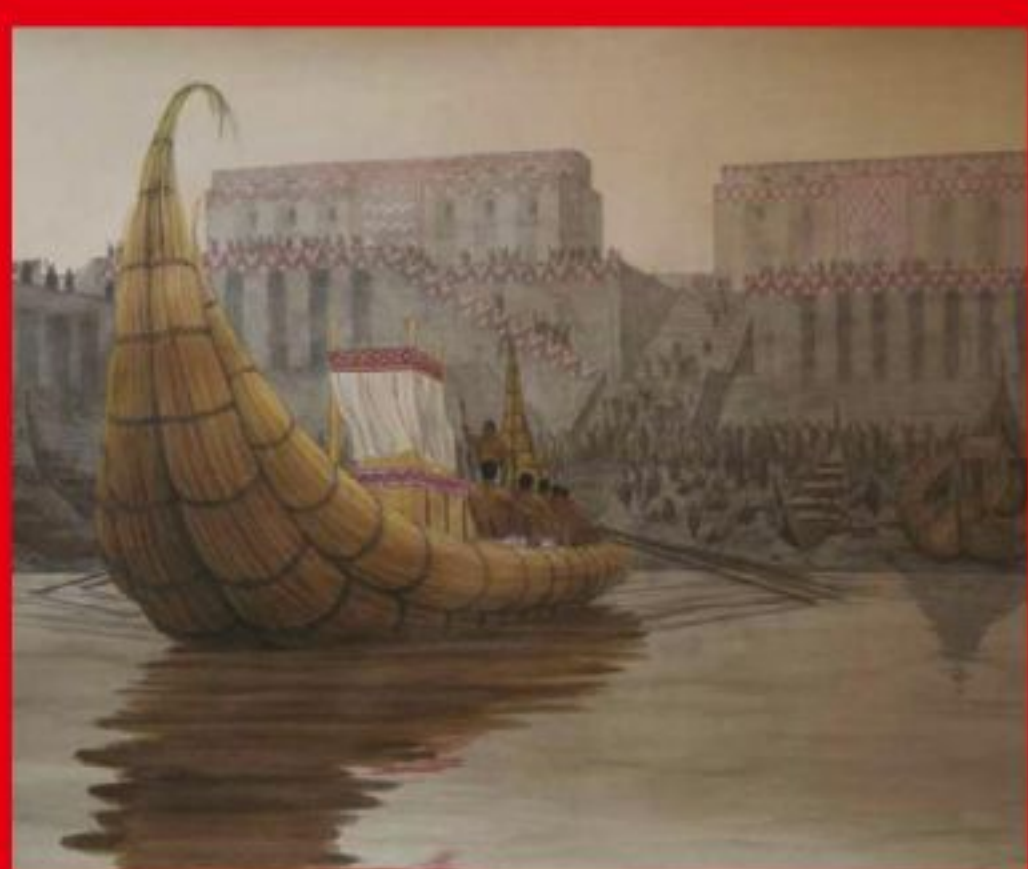
The oldest known codified laws, The Code of Ur-Nammu, are established during the reign of Ur-Nammu during the Sumerian Renaissance.



### First cities built

5000

The Sumerians are credited with building the first known cities in Mesopotamia and by extension, the first in the world. Eridu, located in the south east of modern Iraq, is the oldest known city and was first excavated in 1855.



### Cursive writing invented 3500

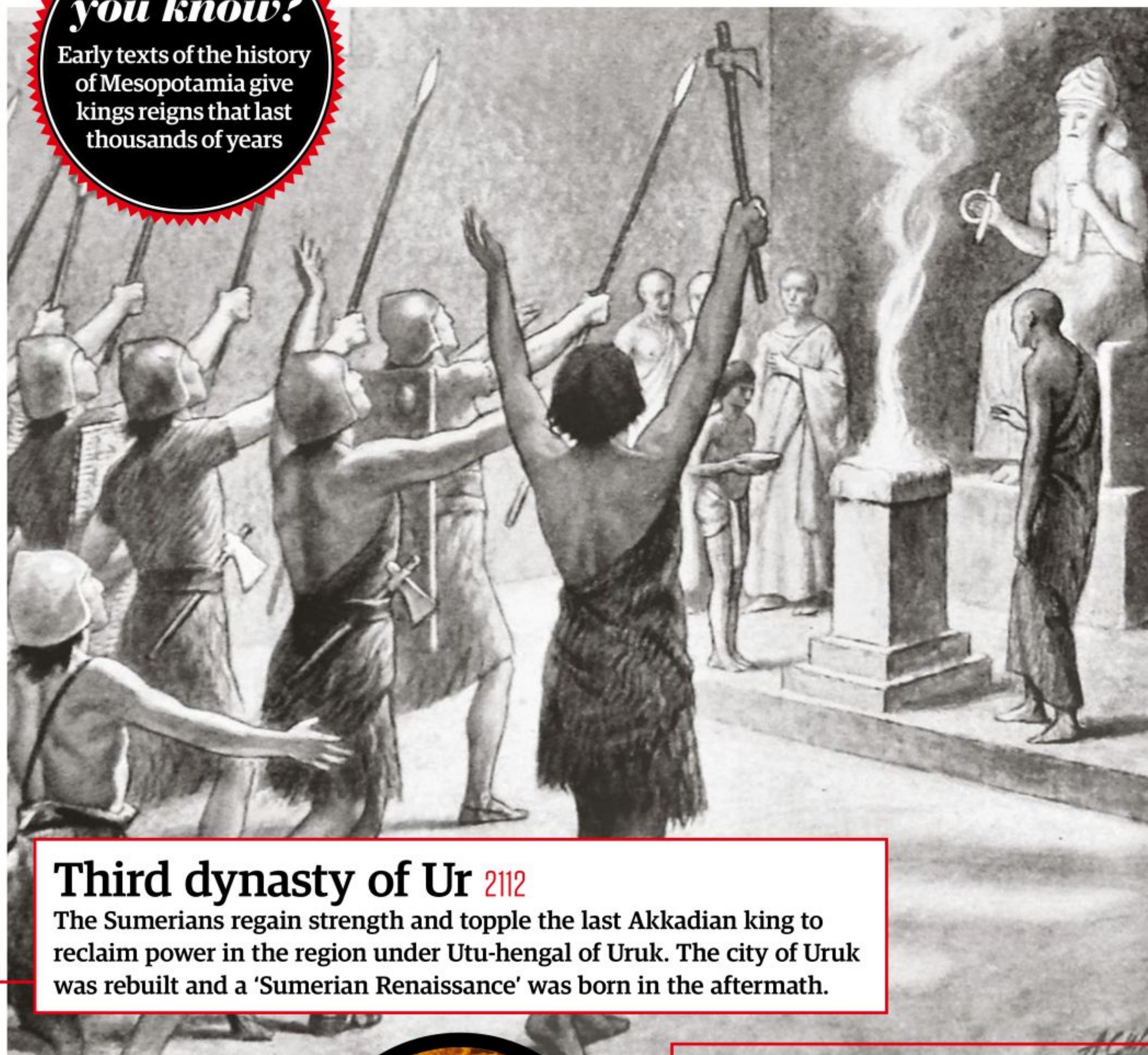
Having moved away from pictograms for their alphabet, the act of joining up characters to speed up the writing process becomes widely used. Known as cuneiform, the tight text style is used to keep records and pass messages.





## Did you know?

Early texts of the history of Mesopotamia give kings reigns that last thousands of years



## Third dynasty of Ur 2112

The Sumerians regain strength and topple the last Akkadian king to reclaim power in the region under Utu-hengal of Uruk. The city of Uruk was rebuilt and a 'Sumerian Renaissance' was born in the aftermath.



HAMMURABI

## Hammurabi crowned king 1792

Hammurabi ascends to the throne of Babylon and with him a new and expansive age for the city. His most notable achievement was the Code of Hammurabi, a new code of law that adds greater emphasis to punishment for crimes.

## THE RISE OF ASSYRIA

2025

Situated north of the Akkadians and Sumerians, the Assyrians grow in strength, establishing their own royal dynasty to rival their neighbours.



## BABYLON RANSACKED 1531

The rising power in the region, the Hittites, attempt conquests throughout Mesopotamia, with Mursili I successfully invading Babylon.



## MIDDLE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE 1360

Tukulti-Ninurta I follows his father to the Assyrian throne and begins to consolidate his kingdom's position, marking the beginning of a new imperial age.



1815

## SHAMSHI-ADAD CONQUERS ASSUR 1815

Overthrowing King Erishum II, Shamshi-Adad becomes the first Amorite king of Assyria, the Semitic-speaking people of the region.



1792



1531

## BABYLONIANS TAKE CONTROL 1751

Hammurabi brings Mesopotamia under his control with even the depleted Assyrian kingdom ending up paying tribute to him rather than disputing his rule.

1360



1225

## PEAK OF ASSYRIA

1115

The reign of Tiglath-Pileser I marks the pinnacle of the Middle Assyrian Empire with massive building projects, conquests and improved record-keeping.

## Babylon founded 1894

Growing as the Sumerian Empire declined, having originally been established as a township by the Akkadians, Babylon expands to city-state status to become one of the most famous metropolises in history. Its power will grow in the coming years.



## Did you know?

The Code of Hammurabi stele, a pillar with the laws transcribed, is at the Louvre



## Babylon captured 1225

Tukulti-Ninurta I leads the Assyrian Empire is retaking Babylon, which had up until then been simply a vassal state to the rising power, naming himself king of Babylonia as well as King of Sumer and Akkad, a title originated by Sargon over 1,000 years earlier.





## ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA



# ZIGGURAT

ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA,  
C.2200-500 BCE

**A**ccording to the ancient people of Mesopotamia, there was one place where heaven and Earth could meet, where gods and mortals could meet: the top of a ziggurat. The word itself comes from the Akkadian 'zaqâru', meaning 'to rise high', and rise high they certainly did. The structures, located at the centre of each city and city-state, would dominate the skyline, with the Etemenanki ziggurat in Babylon reaching a staggering 92 metres (over 27 stories high).

The ziggurat has often been referred to as Mesopotamia's answer to the Egyptian pyramids, but this can be a little misleading. While both have a stepped construction, ziggurats weren't tombs but temples. It is believed that the large mountains of brick and stone housed shrines and temples at their summits, but the stairs and ramps could only be accessed by priests or specially selected citizens.

While the ziggurat was a priest's domain - after all, it was only he who could climb it and make sacrifices - it was usually kings who ordered their construction. While monarchs were in charge of every other aspect of life in their state, this was how they could extend their influence into religion and show that the religious deeds they could perform were every bit as impressive as the deeds a priest could perform.

Ziggurats were large, there's no denying that, but there were no rooms inside. Instead, it was a solid mass of mud-brick, which was then covered by an outer layer of burnt-brick to protect the structure from the elements. The walls sloped slightly inwards, and each layer was smaller than the last, creating the step effect.

Built right up until the Persian Seleucid Empire's conquest of the area, ziggurats were important places of worship built in the centre of a city's administrative area. It could be seen from everywhere, so that spiritual matters would never be far from your mind when you lived in the city.

### Hanging gardens

One of the most famous ziggurats is probably the Temple of Babylon, otherwise known as Etemenanki, or 'temple of the foundation of heaven and earth'. Rebuilt by Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II, its terraces are supposed to have featured exotic plants and flowers in what has become known as the Hanging Gardens of Babylon. However, archaeological evidence of this is scarce.

### Gods, priests and kings

As the place where the heavens and the Earth met, the ziggurat was important in Mesopotamian religion. While usually priests were the only ones allowed up them, their construction was ordered by kings and other secular rulers as a display of power. Ur-Nammu, for instance, built ziggurats at Ur, Eridu, Uruk and Nippur during his reign.

### Stairway to heaven

Unlike the Egyptian pyramids that ziggurats are so often compared to, the Mesopotamians built ramps and staircases so that priests could reach the tops of their structures. Triple stairways and spiral ramps were common and it's thought that they appeared during construction to make it easier for the builders to ascend and descend.



## On top of the world

At the summit of each ziggurat it is believed that there was a temple or shrine to a particular Mesopotamian deity. Ur's was home to Nanna, while Uruk's ziggurat was dedicated to Anu in the 3rd or 2nd century BCE. For the most part, only priests were allowed up to this sacred space, but in Ur a citizen was chosen every day by the priests to spend the night at the top in the presence of the god.

## A sizeable feat

Size was no laughing matter in ancient Mesopotamia, and the square or rectangular bases of ziggurats, with their corners oriented to the points of the compass, reached up to 102 metres squared. This impressive measurement comes from the ziggurat at Choga Zanbil in Elam, Iran, which today clocks a height of 24 metres – less than half of its estimated original height.

## Heart of the city

The ziggurat was part of a temple complex that made up the centre of cities and city-states in ancient Mesopotamia. This religious area served as an administrative centre, and in Ur it was thought that the patron deity of the city, Nanna, had decided to live atop his ziggurat.

## Building materials

The ziggurat was a solid mass built from mud-brick. Each brick was made from dried reed and mud, which was considered the purest of materials, and weighed about 4.5kg. The outer layer was made from burnt-brick as a form of protection. As a result, many of these structures have stood the test of time and can still be seen today.

## Still standing

Examples of ziggurats still stand today – in fact, archaeologists have found 19 of them in 16 ancient cities, while we know of the existence of a further ten from contemporary literary sources. The largest surviving one stands at Choga Zanbil in Elam, Iran, while Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein was responsible for the partial rebuilding of the ziggurat at Ur, which boasts the title of best preserved.





## ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

# THE Anatomy of

# SCRIBE

MESOPOTAMIA, WESTERN  
ASIA, 3100-322 BCE

### CONFORMING TO TYPE

The men of Mesopotamia had long hair and beards, and the scribes were no exception. They are said to have spent much time oiling their facial hair, creating tiered patterns and decorative ringlets using tongs and curling irons. Long beards would be an indication of a higher social class - to which the scribes certainly belonged.

### PEN IS MIGHTIER

A stylus was used by scribes to create the various cuneiform symbols on a soft, moist clay or wax surface. Predominately made from the giant reed (*Arundo donax*) and cut to form a tip that would allow it to make wedge shapes, its glossy waterproof exterior prevented it from sticking.

### MAKETH THE MAN

Men and women could be scribes but the profession tended to favour the former. They would be expensively schooled at the highly-disciplined tablet house - called the e-dubba - for many years, learning how to write the phonetic script, cuneiform, with just six days off each month. They wore skirts and shawls made of wool, or for the richer scribes, linen.

### PRISMS OF CLAY

The 700 or so cuneiforms could depict numerous words and syllables, and context was hugely important in deciphering their meaning. Clay prisms of four, six or sometimes eight sides would contain important records of royal military campaigns - the Sumerian King List is of particular importance - and these would be embedded within city walls and temples.

### HEAD FOR NUMBERS

For around the first 1,000 years, scribes would produce administrative records, perhaps noting a business transaction, creating a contract or noting an inventory. Small clay tablets that were roughly the size of a mobile phone would be used for such a purpose. Scribes had to be educated in business and mathematics.

### ROLLING OUT MESSAGES

Small round cylinder seals made from stone or metal were engraved with figurative sociological or religious scenes depicting men, animals and gods. The carved depressions would create a raised image when the seal was rolled on to wet clay and it would act as a form of signature, with the cylinder often punctured with a hole and worn around the neck.

### WOODEN WRITING

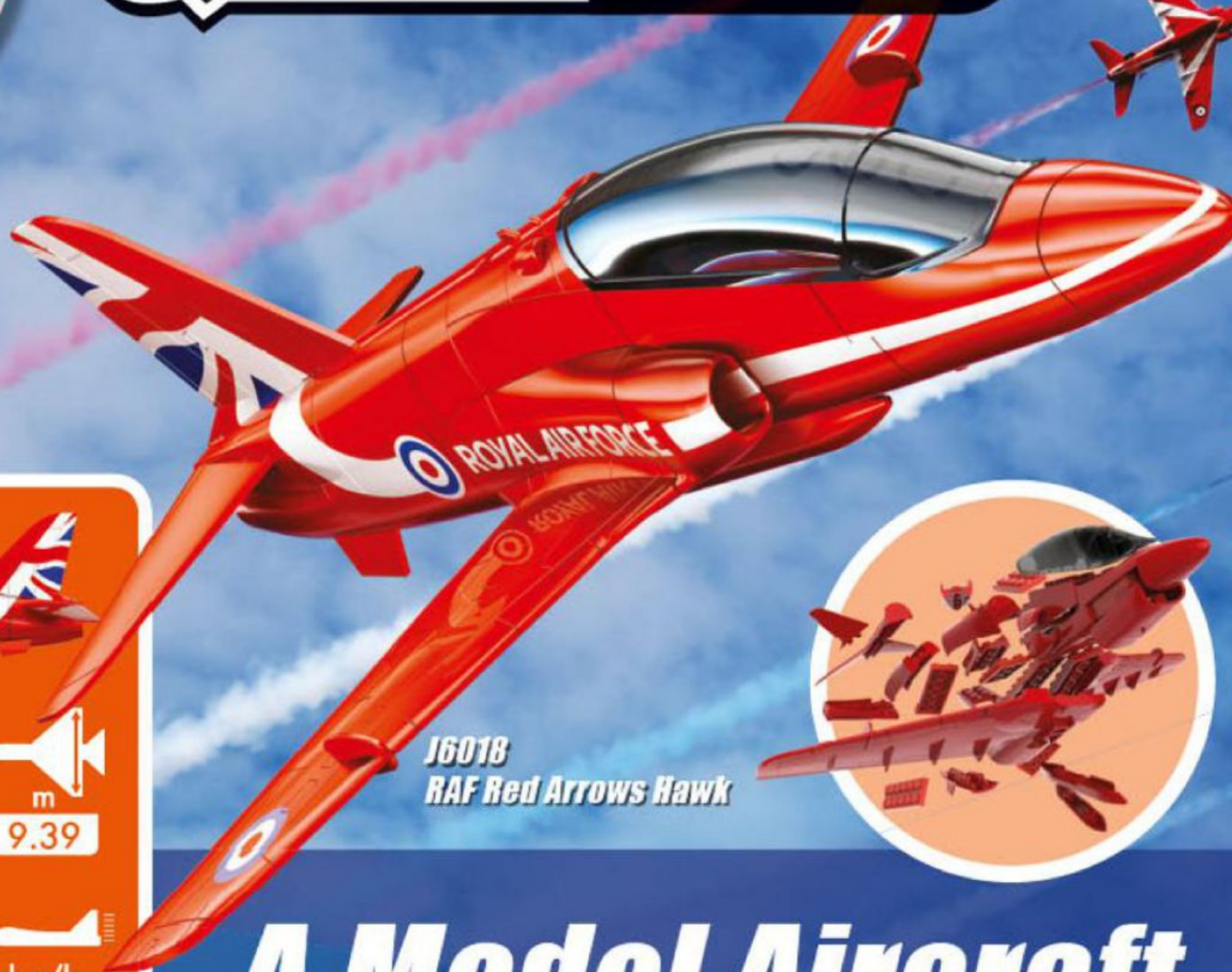
Scribes would also commit cuneiforms to hinged boards made of wood or ivory. They would be coated using a softened paste of beeswax mixed with yellow ochre to provide a good writing surface that could be subsequently melted and reused should the need arise. They were used during teaching as well as military campaigns.





# QUICK-BUILD

**No glue!  
No paint!  
Just build!**



**J6018  
RAF Red Arrows Hawk**



## A Model Aircraft THE RAF RED ARROWS HAWK

The British Aerospace Hawk is one of the most important British jets. Having first flown as the Hawker Siddeley Hawk in Surrey in 1974 the Hawk is still in production in the UK today and is sold to many different countries all over the world. The Hawk is considered a "low-cost" combat aircraft, in 2003 one would've reportedly cost you approximately £18 million!

Without doubt, the most famous of the 1000+ BAe Hawks produced are the aircraft which wear the distinctive colours of the Royal Air Force Aerobatic Team 'The Red Arrows', arguably the world's best and certainly the most famous aerobatic display team.

The Red Arrows have been performing their thrilling displays to audiences all over the world since 1965, fulfilling the role of Britain's most effective flying ambassadors wherever they appear. To join the Red Arrows display team candidates have to have completed a front line tour as a Royal Air Force pilot, have a minimum of 1500 flying hours and be assessed as "above average" in their current RAF flying

role. A maximum of three new pilots are chosen each year so the pilots of the Red Arrows really are the best of the best!

The Red Arrows have appeared in almost 5,000 displays in over 50 countries. A global television audience of over one billion people watched the flypast they performed at the London 2012 Olympic Games Opening Ceremony. The Hawks of the Red Arrows really are amongst the most famous aeroplanes in the history of aviation.

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1



m  
11.85



m  
9.39



m<sup>2</sup>  
16.70



kg  
4,480



km/h  
1,028



km  
2,520



m/s  
47



0.65



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## ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

# *Hall of Fame* SUMERIAN & AKKADIAN LEADERS

Meet some of the rulers of ancient Mesopotamia and uncover the legacies they left behind



### UR-NAMMU

**REIGNED: C.2112-2095 BCE**

He was seen as the liberator of his people, a successor of a line of Akkadian heroes, and that was why he was so loved. Ur-Nammu was presented as caring for his 'children', only wanting what was best for them. This was how the Code of Ur-Nammu came into being around 2100 BCE, the oldest extant complete law code in the world. Ur-Nammu was also known for starting the construction the Great Ziggurat of Ur, which still stands today, and for precipitating the Ur III Period, which lasted until 1750 BCE and is widely considered to be the Sumerian Renaissance.

### LUGAL-ZAGE-SI

**REIGNED: C.2294-2270 BCE**

Before Sumer fell to Sargon the Great, it had another king: Lugal-zage-si. Reigning for approximately 25 years, both Sumer and Akkad fell under his domain and he made his capital in the city of Uruk. While no one knows how he rose to power, we do know that he was adept at war - or he knew who to put in charge. His kingdoms' borders expanded while he fought against the city-state of Lagash. However, he was no match for Sargon, who swept in and took control after a short conflict.



### SARGON THE GREAT

**REIGNED: C.2334-2284 BCE**

The world's first empire was forged in the hands of Sargon I of Akkad, who rightfully earned his epithet of 'the Great'. Rising from nothing as an illegitimate son, Sargon would find glory when he overthrew Lugal-zage-si. Over time, his borders stretched to Lebanon and Turkey's Taurus mountains, and it's thought that he may have also traded with regions as far as India. Thanks to his conquests, he was able to evolve his army and their fighting style, setting the blueprint with loose formations that was carried on until the time of Alexander the Great.



The mythical version of Gilgamesh had him as so strong he was able to lift mountains.

### GILGAMESH **REIGNED: PROBABLY BETWEEN 2800 AND 2500 BCE**

Whether he was real or not, Gilgamesh has gone down in history thanks to *The Epic Of Gilgamesh*, which has painted him as nothing but a hero. The king of the city-state of Uruk, his father was the priest-king Lugalbanda while his mother was supposed to have been the goddess Ninsun, making Gilgamesh a demigod. The Sumerian King List puts his reign at a staggering 126 years, but he is widely accepted as the fifth king of Uruk, possibly reigning in the 26th century BCE. His legacy was set in stone early on though, with later Mesopotamian rulers finding ways to trace their ancestry back to him.





## IBBI-SIN

**REIGNED: C.2028-2004 BCE**

The last king in the third dynasty of Ur, Ibbi-Sin had a lot to live up to thanks to his predecessors. He didn't quite manage. While he held onto the throne for 24 years, his rule was insecure, blighted by famine that confined him to the city. As attacks from the nearby Amorites and Elamites became more and more frequent, his men decided they were better off fending for themselves and he was finally captured by the enemy, ending his dynasty's tenure.

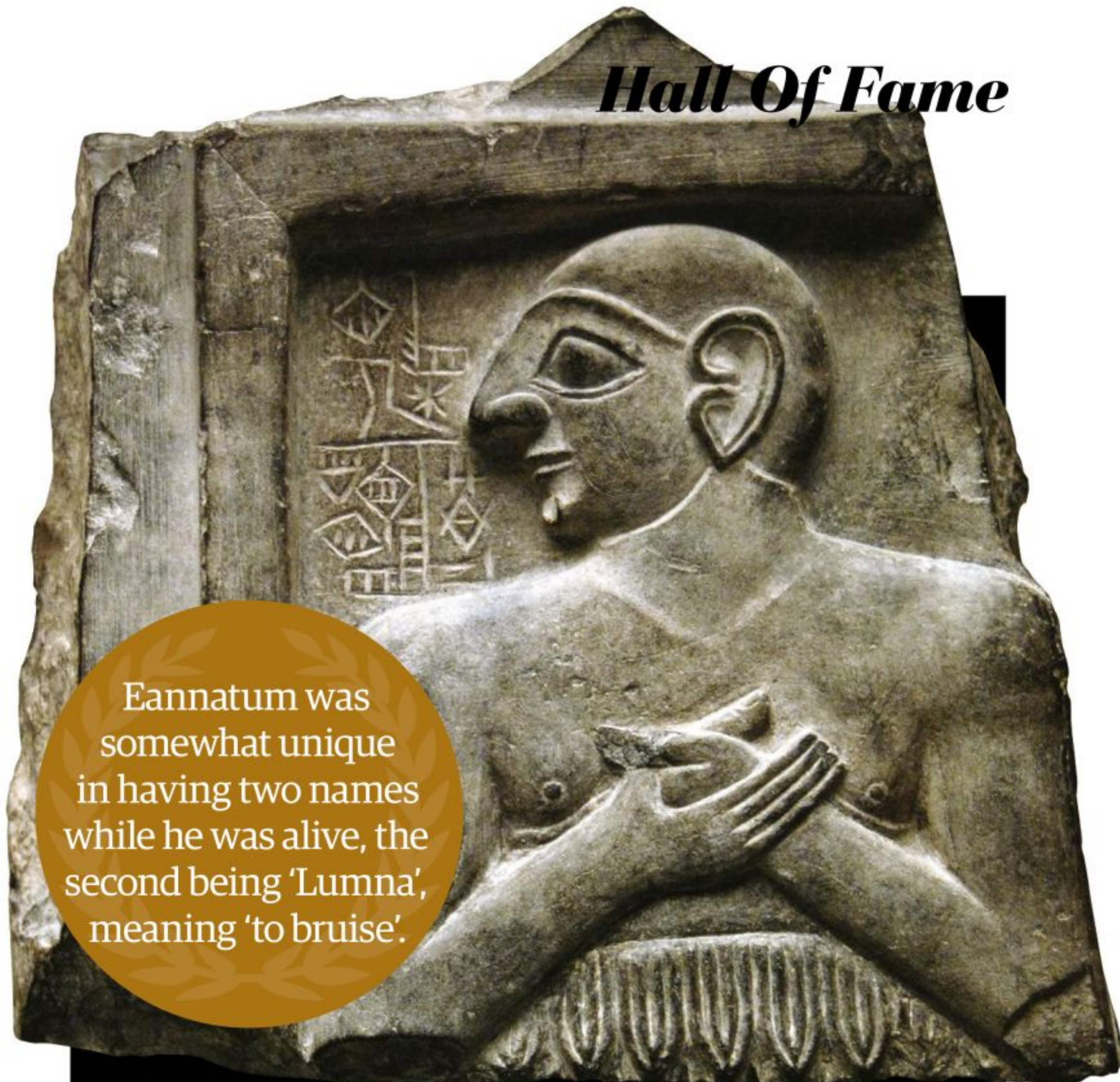


## SHULGI

**REIGNED: C.2094-2047 BCE**

When his father was killed in battle, it was Shulgi's time in the spotlight as king of Ur. He inherited a stable kingdom from Ur-Nammu and he considered it his duty to continue his legacy, reforming scribal schools and increasing literacy rates. He even created the first roadside inns for travellers, but Shulgi didn't stop there. The borders were expanded to Elam, in southwestern Iran today, and he secured the succession with two sons, Amar-Suen and Shu-Suen.

Later generations would identify Naram-Sin as the king who oversaw the destruction of the city of Akkad in *The Curse Of Agade*.



Eannatum was somewhat unique in having two names while he was alive, the second being 'Lumna', meaning 'to bruise'.

## EANNATUM

**REIGNED: 2500-2400 BCE**

He was a conqueror, that much is certain. During his tenure as ruler of Lagash, Eannatum took Elam, Urua, Umma, Erech, Ur and Kiutu, among others, while laying waste to city-states such as Mishime and Adua. But his conquest wasn't always bloodthirsty, with the kingdom of Kish being handed to him, although he often had to subdue rebellions. Military warfare wasn't his only legacy, though, with inscriptions commemorating his repairs to the walls of an important canal.

## KUBABA

**REIGNED: C.25TH CENTURY BCE**

Oddly, one of the oldest civilisations on Earth was at one point ruled by an ex-barkeep who then became deified as a goddess. Kubaba was one of very few women to rule in ancient Mesopotamia, and she's the only one who appears on the Sumerian King List, an ancient text that lists the dynasties of Sumer and



its surrounding city-states. Kubaba's reign was supposedly 100 years, a century marked with peace and prosperity, and she is believed to have fortified her city-state.

## UTU-HENGAL

**REIGNED: C.2055-2048 BCE**

After centuries of rule in Sumer under the Akkadians and the Gutians, one man managed to fight back. Utu-hengal, apparently the son of a fish curer, was one of the city-state's first native kings, overcoming the might of the Gutian Tirigan in battle to take the crown for himself. However, he never managed to found his own dynasty, instead marrying his daughter to Ur-Nammu, whose reign began the third dynasty of Ur.

## NARAM-SIN

**REIGNED: 2261-2224 BCE**

The last to rule the mighty Akkadian Empire was Naram-Sin, a grandson of Sargon the Great - like his grandfather, over time his exploits turned into myth and were told throughout the centuries. His reign clocked in at 36 years, marked by border expansion, successful trade and order. He went with his armies to conquer new land, but he died a natural death. The crown fell to his son, but his rule was ineffectual and the empire's days were numbered.





## ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

*Q&A With...*

# AGNETE LASSEN

HOW BUILDING A NARRATIVE  
AROUND ANCIENT ARTEFACTS  
IS BRINGING MESOPOTAMIA  
BACK TO VIVID LIFE

*Ancient Mesopotamia  
Speaks* runs until 30  
June 2020 at Yale  
Peabody Museum of  
Nature. Find out more  
at [peabody.yale.edu](http://peabody.yale.edu)



Lassen is associate curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection at the Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, having received her PhD at the University of Copenhagen. She co-authored the book *Ancient Mesopotamia Speaks* that accompanies the Peabody Museum exhibit of the same name.



## Q. HOW DID YOU BEGIN CURATING THE COLLECTION? WHAT WERE YOUR OBJECTIVES?

**A.** When I first started working as a curator in the Yale Babylonian Collection three and a half years ago, it was an amazing adventure of discovery. I found something unknown and fabulous every time I opened a drawer or peeked into a cabinet. It sometimes still feels like that. Getting to know the collection and getting it completely catalogued was first a key priority. Now my focus is on digitising it, both to create a lasting document of it and to disseminate everything in it to the world.

Our recent exhibition, *Ancient Mesopotamia Speaks*, is an attempt to showcase not only the amazing things that are in Yale's collection, but also to show people what a fascinating world ancient Mesopotamia was. We have tried to show both how similar we are to the ancient Mesopotamians, but also how different we are in some respects. We wanted to tell stories, rather than just focus on single pieces. Because of this, the exhibition features both collection highlights, such as the Yale Gilgamesh tablet and a Babylonian cookbook, but also mundane items, such as an administrative tag with a date on it.

## Q. YOU MENTIONED ANCIENT COOKBOOKS. DO ANY OF THE RECIPES ACTUALLY WORK?

**A.** Indeed, they do work and some have been cooked many times. There are three clay tablets with recipes dating to around 1800-1700 BCE. Two of these have extremely detailed instructions, but they are also very broken and fragmentary. The third tablet is in much better condition. It lists 25 recipes for stews, 21 meat-based and four vegetarian, or 'green' as the tablet specifies at the end of the text. Most of the recipes contain one or more onion type vegetables, such as leek, garlic, shallots and onions. They also use spices, such as cumin, coriander and cilantro, as well as seasonings like salt. Like most pre-modern cooking manuals, these recipes do not quantify the ingredients and there is very much an element of guesswork and interpretation in cooking them. A personal favourite is the Tuh'u dish, which can be thought of a proto-Borscht.

## Q. ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA ENCAPSULATES A LARGE REGION OVER MANY THOUSANDS OF YEARS, BUT ARE THERE CONSISTENT ELEMENTS THAT HELP TO BIND IT TOGETHER AS A SINGLE HISTORICAL PERIOD?

**A.** Without implying that ancient Mesopotamia was a static, unchanging culture, we have tried to show some of the incredible continuities that tie together ancient Mesopotamia into a continuous historical culture. A good example is two clay tablets we put in a case: one dating to c. 3300-3000

This beetroot based stew is called Tuh'u. We've actually worked out a recipe you can follow on page 91



© Chelsea Graham

BCE and another tablet dating to 13 January 526 BCE and thus some 2,500 years apart. However, both tablets deal with small cattle. Both come from the city of Uruk, perhaps both even from the same temple precinct in Uruk. Both tablets use lines and format to lay out the information in the record. This example illustrates some of the remarkable continuities in Mesopotamian economic structures and record keeping.

## Q. WHAT ARE THE BIGGEST CHALLENGES IN DECIPHERING CUNEIFORM TEXT FROM THIS ERA?

**A.** The earliest form of cuneiform, called proto-cuneiform, was almost entirely logographic. This means that each sign represents a whole word or meaning. There were few phonetic, i.e. signs that represent sounds, and grammatical elements, which means that it is difficult even to know what language was being written down. The script also used the rebus principle to express meaning, where a meaning could be represented by a sign that sounded the same. For example, the sign that depicts plants (SAR) could also be used to represent the verb to write: 'sar'. This means that rather than employing thousands of signs, the cuneiform script made do with much fewer. At the same time, this makes decipherment tricky.

## Q. WHAT CAN WE LEARN ABOUT THE SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF THESE COMMUNITIES FROM THESE ARTEFACTS?

**A.** Most of the earliest cuneiform texts deal with administration and economy. However, ten per cent or so are very different: they are the word lists or lexical lists. These lists were used in schooling as

a way for aspiring scribes to memorise how words were written. One of the earliest of these texts is the list of professions, the so-called Standard Professions List. It is known in many copies and was used in scribal training for some one thousand years. It lists all of the professions and offices people held in early Mesopotamian society, from the top of the social hierarchy to the bottom. Other artefacts show kings interacting with the gods - although Mesopotamian kings were only rarely thought of as divine - and officials interacting with kings. Although there were a few variations, the nuclear family was the basic social unit also in ancient Mesopotamia. We have images of families, such as mothers with their children and men and women together. Of the latter, we have erotic interactions, but also more tender ones, with a man and woman gazing lovingly into each other's eyes.

## Q. YOU ALSO HAVE SOME WORK FROM PRINCESS ENHEDUANA. WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT HER AND HER WRITING?

**A.** Enheduana was the daughter of the king Sargon and the earliest named author in human history. She lived around 2300-2200 BCE. She was the high-priestess of the goddess Inanna in the city of Ur and her most famous work, the *Exaltation of Inanna*, is dedicated to that goddess. In it, Enheduana expresses her anguish and humiliation at being expelled from her temple and home, and calls upon her goddess to help her and punish the wrongdoers. Inanna was a fierce and vengeful goddess and Enheduana praises and calls upon those violent qualities in her poem. After her death, the works of Enheduana survived and were still copied and studied by students 500 years later.





## ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

# Places to Explore MESOPOTAMIAN MARVELS

Feast your eyes on some of the finest artefacts from Ancient Mesopotamia

### 1 GREGORIAN EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, VATICAN MUSEUMS

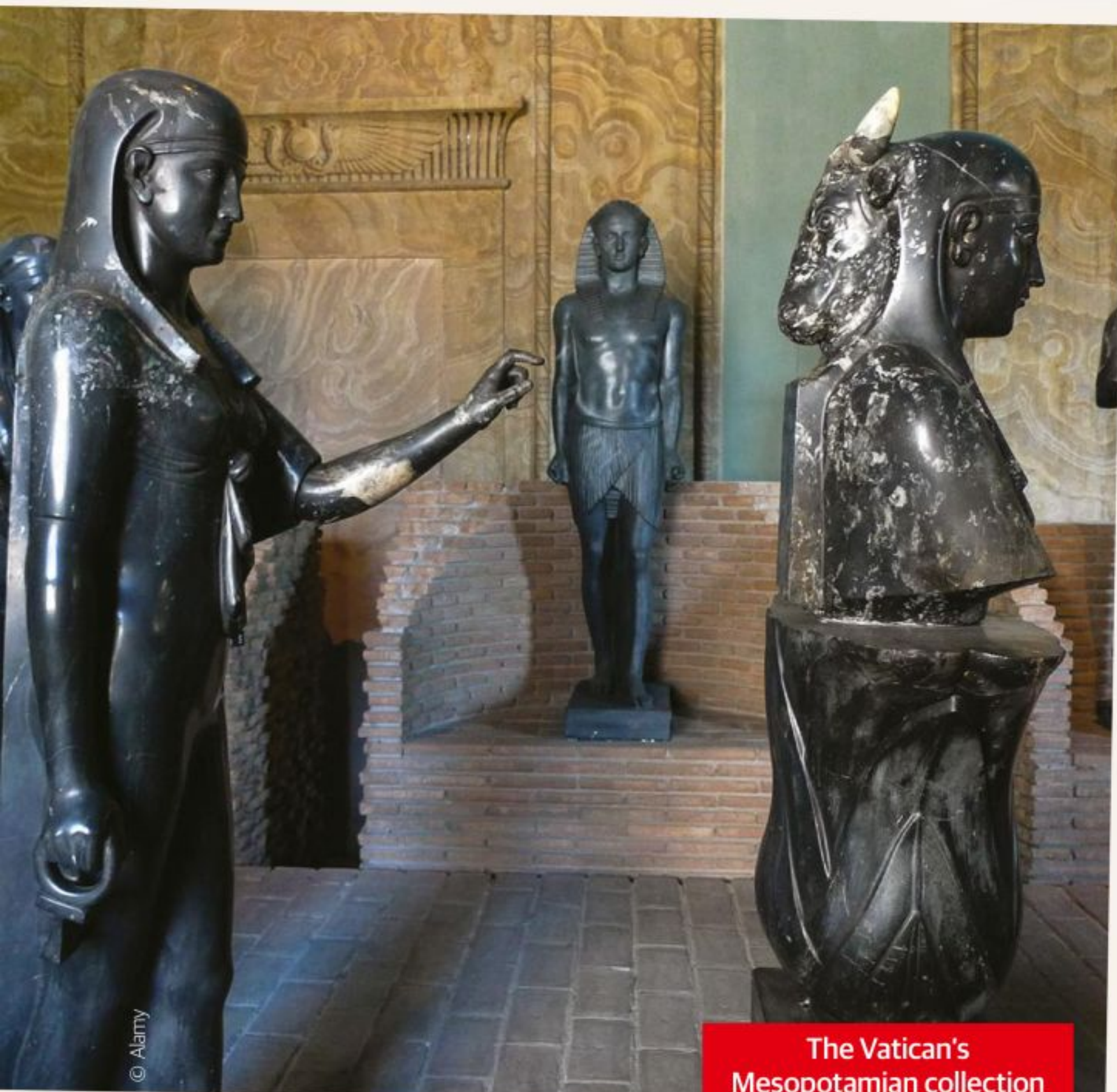


ROME

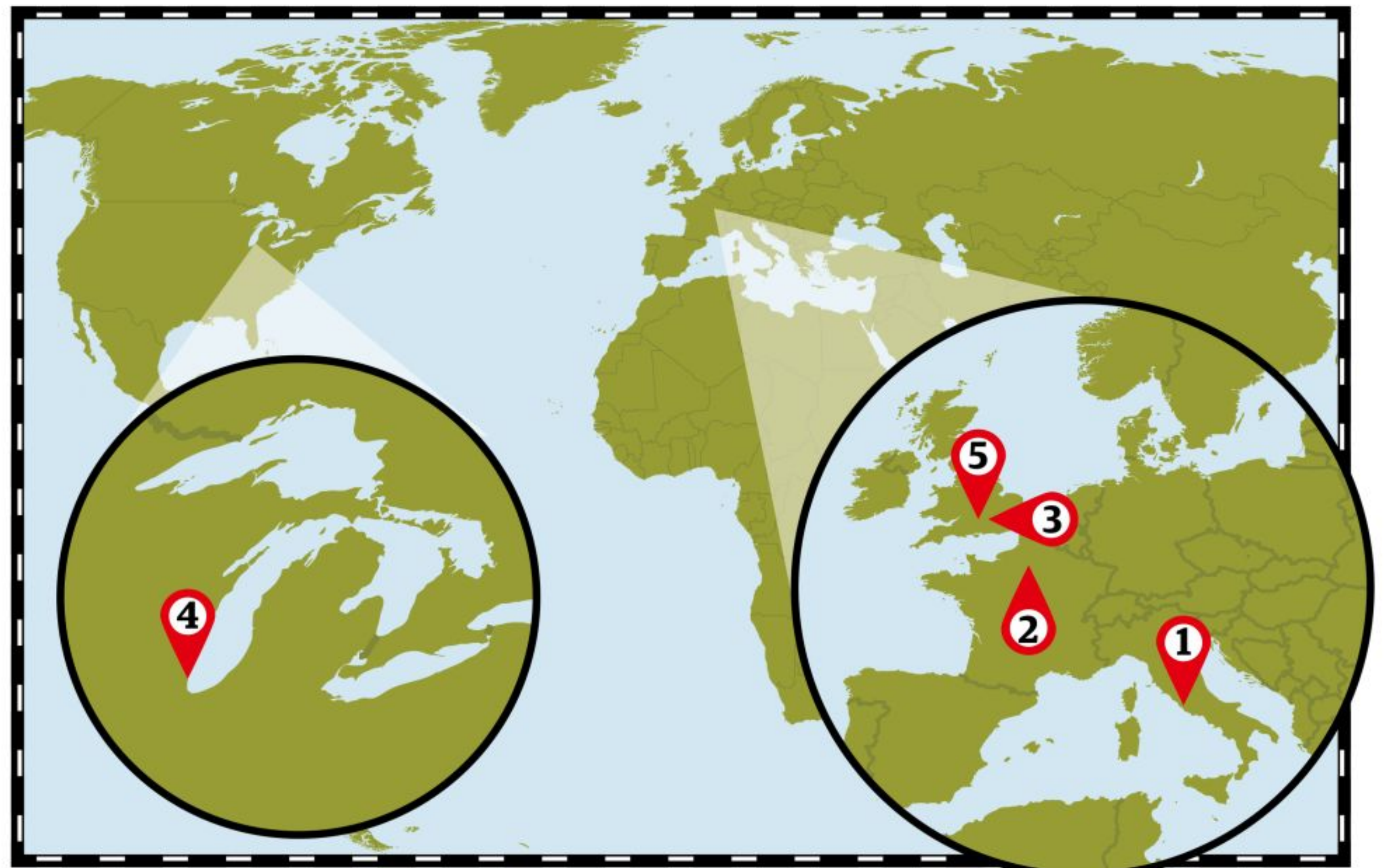
The Gregorian Egyptian Museum is one of the various galleries that make up the Vatican Museums located within the Vatican City. Founded by Pope Gregory XVI in 1839, it is dedicated to the Antiquities of the Ancient Near East and has nine rooms in total, with the Mesopotamian artefacts housed in Room VIII alongside materials from pre-classical Syria-Palestine. Among the various objects on display, there are several cylindrical seals and cuneiform tablets to discover, which have been in the possession of the Vatican as part of the Pontifical Biblical Institute since the 1970s. The collection also boasts the Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar II, a perforated clay cylinder that commemorates King Nebuchadnezzar's building work in the temple complex in the ancient city of Marad during the Neo-Babylonian Empire. It is believed that the cylinder could have been used as a decorative element, although it may have also been used for an apotropaic purpose.

*Open Monday-Saturday, 9am-6pm and every last Sunday of the month, 9am-2pm. Free admission.*

<http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en.html>



The Vatican's Mesopotamian collection is housed in the Gregorian Egyptian Museum



### 2 LOUVRE MUSEUM



PARIS

The world's largest art museum is also home to the finest Mesopotamian artefacts in the world, with the first 'Assyrian Museum' opened at the Louvre in 1847. As part of its Near Eastern Antiquities collection, located in the Richelieu Wing, the Louvre has the famous Code of Hammurabi on display, which was discovered by a team of archaeologists led by Jacques de Morgan in 1901. It is one of the oldest written laws and deciphered writings in the world, dating back to around 1754 BCE during the Babylonian era. The code was found alongside Sumerian, Akkadian and Babylonian sculptures that are also on display amongst various other pieces of Mesopotamian artwork. Also worth seeing is the Cour Khorsabad, the breathtaking remains of the palace inaugurated by King Sargon II in 706 BCE, which have been displayed in their original order, allowing you to really step back into history and experience the spectacular architecture of the palace.

*Open daily (except on Tuesdays), 9am-6pm, open until 9.45pm on Wednesdays and Fridays. Tickets purchased at the museum are €15; for quick entry purchase tickets online for €17. Free admission on the first Saturday of every month, 6pm-9.45pm.*  
<https://www.louvre.fr/en>

The Code of Hammurabi in the Louvre







The 'war panel' of the Standard of Ur

## 3 BRITISH MUSEUM LONDON

The British Museum is home to a large collection of artefacts, located across rooms 55 and 56, which explore the vast history of Mesopotamia and its numerous civilisations including the Sumerians, Akkadians, Babylonians and Assyrians. In room 55, visitors can learn about the history of Babylonia from 1500 BCE and the growth of the empire under the Kassites until it was conquered in 539 BCE by the Persian king, Cyrus the Great. Room 55 also contains various clay tablets written with cuneiform script and taken from the library of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, which highlight Mesopotamia's developed literature and learning.

The development of art, technology and agriculture, as well as the invention of writing, are further traced through the objects on display in room 56, including the Ram in a Thicket

figure and the Standard of Ur, the latter of which is highly regarded as a shining example of Mesopotamian artistic achievement. These are just two of the many artefacts discovered by archaeologist Charles Leonard Woolley during his excavation of the Royal Graves in the ancient Sumerian city of Ur, a joint venture between the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania from 1923 to 1934. With so many objects to see, visitors can join the free 'Eye-opener' gallery guided tour, which runs daily and delves into the Mesopotamian collection.

*Open daily 10am-5.30pm, open until 8.30pm on Fridays. Closed on Christmas Day, Boxing Day and New Year's Day. Free admission.*  
<https://www.britishmuseum.org/>

## 4 ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM CHICAGO

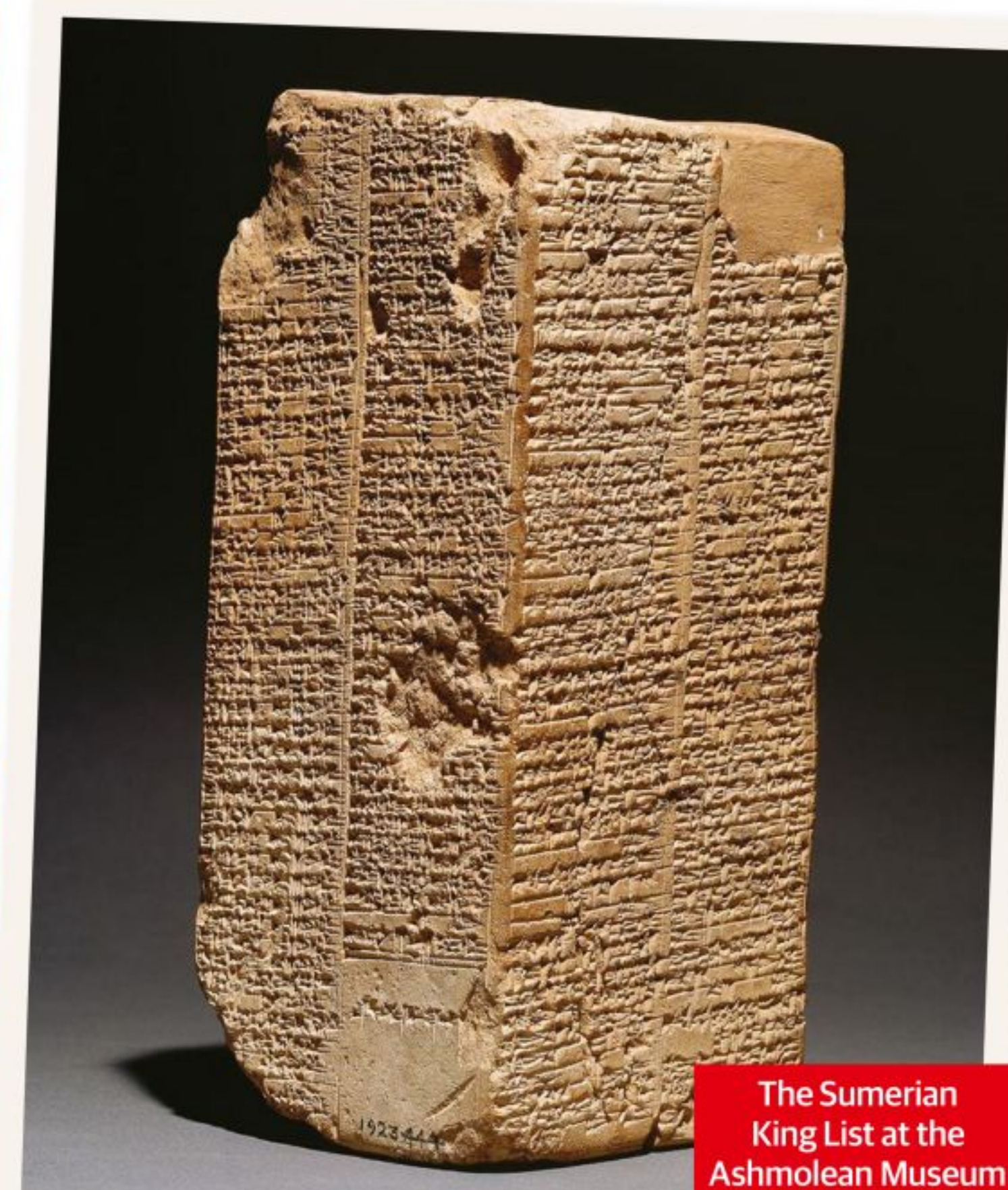
Not only does the Oriental Institute Museum house a multitude of artefacts from the ancient Middle East, it also has the largest display of Mesopotamian objects in the Western Hemisphere. Inside the museum's Edgar and

Deborah Jannotta Mesopotamian Gallery, there are over 1,000 objects on display that chart more than 80,000 years worth of Mesopotamian history, from the Paleolithic Period to the Islamic conquest in 642, exploring themes such as the development of art and writing, the economy, trade, politics, technology and administration. Among them, visitors can expect to see objects from daily life such as pottery, sculpture, jewellery and cylinder seals, with notable highlights including a collection of Sumerian statues dating back to 2500 BCE, the striding lions from Babylon and a cast of the Code of Hammurabi.

*Open Tues-Sun, 10am-5pm and until 8pm on Wednesdays. On average, tickets are \$10 for Adults and \$5 for children under 12, with guided tours also available.*  
<https://oi.uchicago.edu/>



A wall relief of a striding lion of Babylon



The Sumerian King List at the Ashmolean Museum

## 5 THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM OXFORD

The Ashmolean's Ancient Near East Gallery displays numerous objects from Ancient Mesopotamia, exploring the connection between Mesopotamia, Syria and the civilisations of the Mediterranean world. This includes the vast number of artefacts excavated at the site of the ancient city of Kish by the University of Oxford and the Field Museum, Chicago, between 1923 and 1933. One such object is the famous Kish tablet, a limestone tablet that dates back to 3500 BCE and possibly offers the earliest known example of writing in the world. If the development of writing interests you, then it is important to note that the Ashmolean actually holds the second largest collection of cuneiform tablets in the UK.

Visitors can also see the Sumerian King List, a clay prism that records the names of the cities in Sumer, the neighbouring regions, their rulers and the respective length of their reigns, and happens to be the most extensive and complete list of this kind to have survived. Also on display are pieces of jewellery from the Royal Graves of Ur, as well as a few Assyrian stone reliefs depicting scenes of conquest and supernatural spirits, for example a carved slab that depicts a protective spirit and decorated the walls inside the Northwest Palace, which was located in Nimrud, Assyria.

*Open daily, 10am-5pm, with some galleries open until 8pm on the last Friday of the month. Free admission.*  
<https://www.ashmolean.org/>





## ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

# *Historical Treasures* CYLINDER SEAL

A FUNDAMENTAL PART OF EVERY DAY LIFE ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA, C.2250 – 2150 BCE

### CLEVER CRAFTSMAN

The sealcutter who made this seal used the intaglio technique to cut the design into the stone, creating a raised impression. The design was also made in reverse, so that it would face the correct way after imprinting.



This Akkadian cylinder seal can be found at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

### IDENTIFICATION

The inscription on this seal, written in cuneiform, states that it belonged to a court official and cupbearer named Balu-ili. Engravers would often leave gaps on the seal and add the owner's name later once it had been purchased.

### BACK IN TIME

Made with chert, a type of sedimentary rock, this seal has survived the ravages of time and therefore appears to us in almost the exact same way as it would have done to the Akkadians.

### LOST TO HISTORY

This particular seal is from the Akkadian Empire in northern Mesopotamia. It features a hunting scene, which can be seen fully in this modern impression, although its meaning and association with the owner is no longer understood.

Cylinder seals were first invented between 4000 - 3001 BCE, at the same time as proto-cuneiform writing, and quickly surpassing traditional stamp seals in popularity. As an administrative tool, these seals could authenticate official documents, identify somebody's property and even seal jars and doors shut. Rolled in wet clay, the impression left behind by the seal's engraving served as a signature for the person of authority and was a crucial part of conducting business.

The designs of cylinder seals could be sacred or secular, ranging from economic to mythological scenes, with the style varying depending on both the chronological period and the region it was created in. An inscription featuring the name and

occupation of the owner would also be included on the seals and as a result, we know that a range of people including rulers, priests, soldiers, craftsmen and servants actually held these seals.

These designs are an important source of Mesopotamian art, and in some cases, are the only references left in existence. Therefore, the images on cylinder seals continue to be extremely useful to the understanding of cultural aspects such as agriculture, dress, architecture, animals, music and dance in ancient Mesopotamia.

The development of cylinder seal imagery through time can be seen clearly thanks to the number of examples that have survived to this day. Cylinder seals could be made from sturdy materials such as stone, hematite and bone, semi-precious

stones like lapis lazuli, obsidian and carnelian, and metals such as gold, silver and bronze, with the material also contributing to the economic value of the seal.

Ancient Mesopotamians also believed that cylinder seals were magical amulets and images of protective deities were frequently used in the engravings. A hole would be drilled through the centre of the seal so that the owner could wear it for protection as a piece of jewellery, most likely as a necklace or pin, while others chose to be buried with their seal as part of their grave goods.

Cylinder seals continued to be used until around 1000 - 1 BCE, when papyrus and parchment slowly replaced clay as the predominant writing material and stamp seals became popular once again.





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Scale 1:72

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# STARTER SETS: THE MOON LANDING



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# DARK ARTS OF THE

# PLAGUE DOCTORS

Uncovering the professionals and scholars trained in identifying the environmental and bodily signs of the Black Death that existed three centuries before the infamous 'plague doctor' costume

Written by Winston Black

**Y**ou've seen him before: a mysterious figure, clad from head to toe in oiled Moroccan leather, wearing goggles and a beaked mask. He looks like a cross between a steampunk crow and the Grim Reaper. He's usually called a 'plague doctor' and a quick search online will turn up thousands of examples. Some of these images and costumes claim to represent genuine historical artefacts, while many others are new creations for Halloween and roleplaying. Thanks to the popularity of this costume, it has come to represent for modern audiences both the terrors of the Black Death and the foreignness of medieval medicine.

But this sort of plague doctor did not appear until well after the Middle Ages, some three centuries after the Black Death first struck in the 1340s. There may have been a few doctors in the 17th and 18th centuries who wore this outfit, but most medieval and Early Modern physicians who studied and treated the plague did not. Nor was there a single class of physician in the later medieval and Early Modern periods, who could be represented by a single outfit. Plague prevention and care came from university-trained physicians, surgeons, barbers, apothecaries, midwives, herbalists, priests, miracle-workers and a range of charlatans.







Instead of relying on a single, special outfit, plague doctors instead employed a variety of therapeutic methods and environmental theories to protect themselves and their patients from the contagion of plague. Ideas about the cause and spread of the plague changed over the period of several centuries, as did the clothing worn by plague doctors and the methods they used to treat the disease. Even though these plague doctors, working long before the advent of germ theory and antibiotics, were unable to cure the plague, they deserve more credit than they usually receive for intelligently observing the spread and symptoms of plague and for giving people hope in an age of constant medical crisis.

## The Black Death and the Second Plague Pandemic

The Black Death of the 14th century is well known. When historians discuss 'the plague' they are usually referring to this epidemic of bubonic plague caused by the bacillus *Yersinia pestis*. The Black Death swept through the Middle East and Europe in the years 1346-1353 but it may have begun several decades earlier in the Qinghai Plateau of central Asia. Plague scholars estimate

that 50-60% of the population of Europe died during the Black Death, an even higher proportion than the often-cited 'one-third' of Europeans lost to the disease. Less well known is that the plague continued to strike Europe, the Middle East and beyond for the next four centuries, returning every ten to 20 years. This period of recurring plague epidemics between the 14th and 18th centuries is known as the Second Plague Pandemic. The so-called First Pandemic occurred in the sixth through eighth centuries CE and the Third Pandemic lasted roughly 1860-1960. Few of the later outbreaks in the Second Plague Pandemic were as devastating as the Black Death, but they nonetheless continued to kill 10-20% of the population with each recurrence.

As shocking as it may seem to modern audiences, medieval and Early Modern people grew accustomed to the plague and took this periodic loss of population in their stride. Doctors and scientists worked to understand and treat plague better, especially in terms of preventing its arrival and spread in their communities. Many important developments in the history of medicine and health occurred against this backdrop of plague: the rebirth of

dissection, the discovery of the circulation of blood, and the development of public health measures. It is unclear why the Second Pandemic ended in Western Europe, while it continued to strike in Russia and the Ottoman Empire well into the 19th century.

The Great Plague of London in 1665 was the last major outbreak in England and plague likewise seems to have disappeared from Spanish and Germanic lands after the 17th century. The plague of Marseilles, France, in 1720-1721 is considered to be the last major plague outbreak in Western Europe. Some historians argue that public health had improved to such an extent as to halt the spread of plague, especially through the systematic and effective use of sanitary legislation. Others point to evolutionary changes in human populations, rodent populations, or in the bacteria itself, but none of these claims seem to be holding up to recent discoveries in plague genetics. What is clear is that in the four centuries between the Black Death and the disappearance of plague from Europe, doctors worked tirelessly to explain, contain and treat this terrifying disease.

## Treating the Plague: Blood and Air

It's easy to imagine that medieval society completely collapsed in the face of a disease that quickly killed off over half the population. This is the picture left by Giovanni Boccaccio, in the often-reproduced preface to his collection of stories known as the *Decameron*, written in the wake of the Black Death, around 1350. He describes the total failure of all the social, religious and educational networks in his community, which many people have taken to be true of all medieval society. But we must remember that Boccaccio was writing a work of fiction and describing events of only one plague outbreak in his native

**"Plague doctors employed a variety of therapeutic methods and environmental theories to protect themselves"**

There are three primary forms of plague. Bubonic from flea bites, pneumonic in the lungs and septicemic in the blood



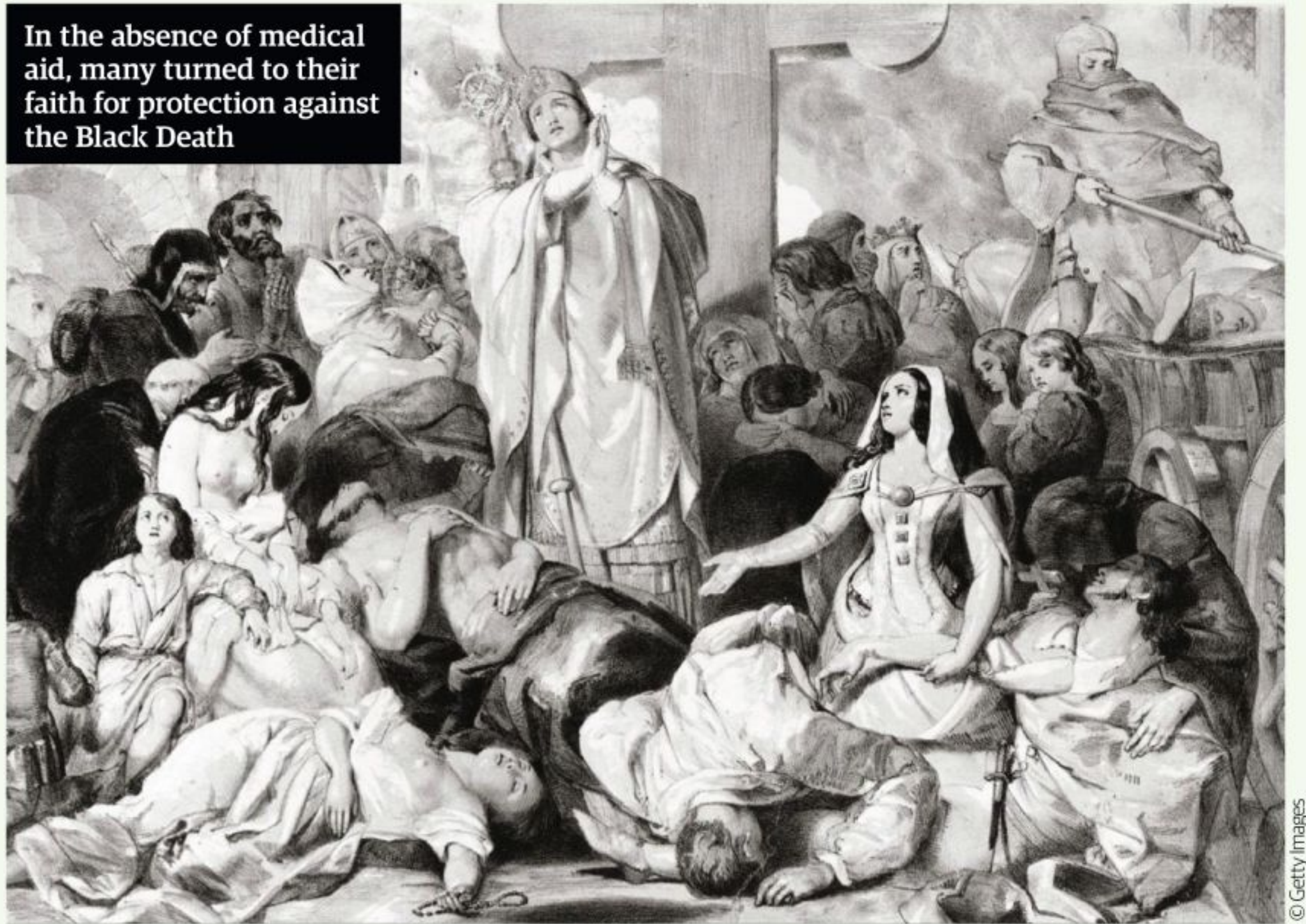


# Dark Arts Of The Plague Doctors

Death riding through a medieval town as depicted by *Die Pest* by Arnold Böcklin



In the absence of medical aid, many turned to their faith for protection against the Black Death



Transporting the dead away from populated areas was an essential task to be performed



## What about 'Ring Around the Rosie'?

The famous nursery rhyme is not medieval and not about the Black Death

One of the most common 'facts' that people today know about the Black Death is that medieval people described it in a coded song, 'Ring Around the Rosie' (or 'Ring A Ring O' Roses'). The title supposedly describes circular, reddish plague boils. The "pocket full of posies" protected their bearer from the poisonous miasma, which was thought to carry plague. "Ashes, ashes" is the burning of plague victims' corpses (or in another variant, "A-tishoo, A-tishoo" describes the sneezing of the sick) and "we all fall down" describes the

devastation of the disease. The trouble with this common popular theory is that there is no evidence for this rhyme until the 19th century and there is no mention of the claimed secret code behind the rhyme until the 1960s! If we closely compare the rhyme to actual medieval reactions to the plague, none of the pieces fit. Medieval people were much clearer in their descriptions of the disease, they never called the symptoms red or rose-coloured, sneezing was not a symptom of the plague, and they rarely if ever cremated their corpses. The only

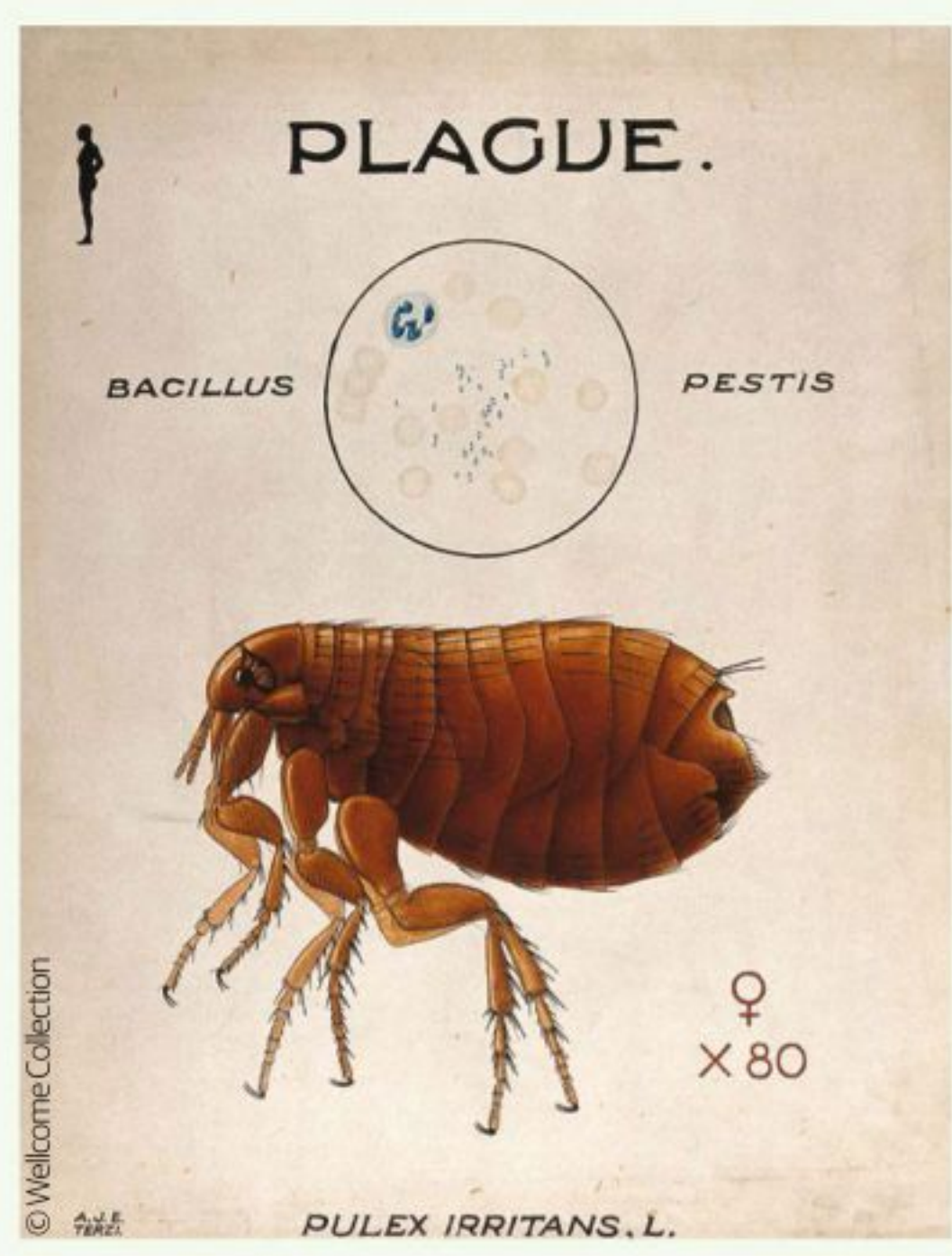
plausible part of the claim is the "pocket full of posies" because plague doctors did at times recommend holding and smelling flowers to prevent contracting plague. But the belief that the song describes medieval reactions to the plague persists because it fits in with popular ideas about the foolishness and backwardness of medieval people. This popular myth overshadows the complexity of medieval medicine and the contributions of genuine medieval physicians, who provided complex and natural theories for the spread and effects of the plague.



When a plague outbreak would hit a city, many would seek escape in the countryside until it abated



The Great Plague of Marseille was the last major outbreak of bubonic plague in Western Europe



A diagram of the type of flea that spread the bubonic plague, along with the spores of the plague itself





city of Florence. Archaeology and written records suggest that a few villages were indeed wiped out, but medieval historians have demonstrated that most communities rebounded within a year of the Black Death's arrival, getting back to business and adapting to a world with dramatically fewer people. At the same time, doctors and scientists immediately tried to fit this new disease into their existing medical frameworks. In both Europe and the Middle East this meant defining the plague in terms of the theory of four bodily humours (blood, phlegm, yellow bile, black bile), first developed by the ancient physicians Hippocrates and Galen and further elaborated by Arabic and Latin physicians in the Middle Ages.

Using these ancient and medieval medical theories, plague doctors argued that the Black Death was a pestilential fever that corrupted the humours, causing the horrific plague buboes, swollen with blood and pus. They recognised that buboes tended to form in the groin, armpits and neck, and explained them as the body expelling humours from the nearest major organs: the liver, heart, and brain, respectively. According to these doctors, plague could be prevented by strengthening the humours or keeping them in balance through a detailed medical plan, or *regimen*, including changes in diet, drugs that caused beneficial vomiting and urination, and prophylactic bloodletting. All of these procedures were intended to remove corrupted humours from the body and to keep black bile (*melancholia*), which was usually considered the most dangerous of the humours, from dominating the body. If a patient did catch the plague, some doctors cautiously recommended lancing the bubo, as seen in a 15th-century image from a book on the plague by Hans Folz, a German barber-surgeon.

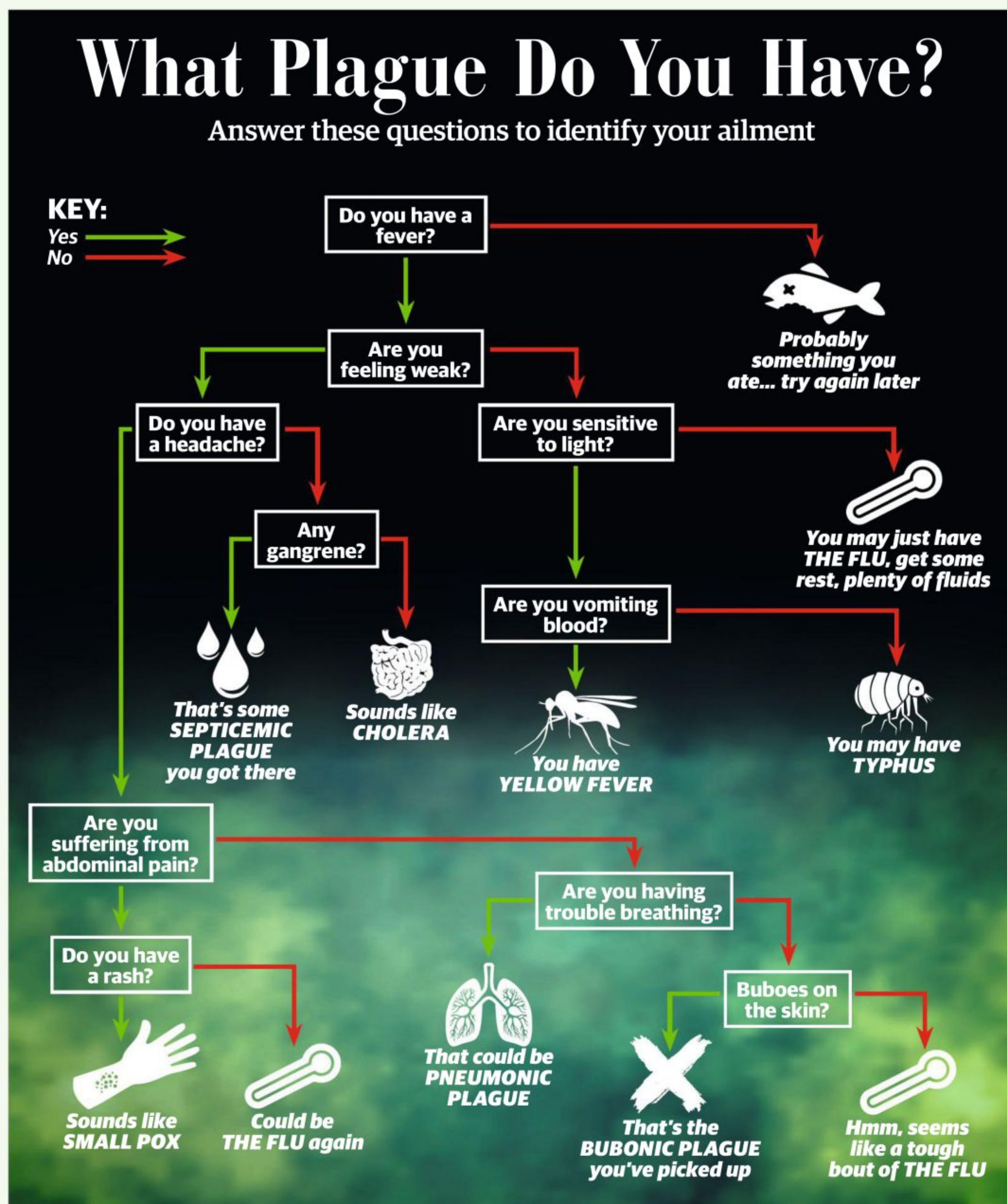
Ancient and medieval medical authorities, following the legacy of Hippocrates, also recommended paying close attention to the qualities of the air when explaining epidemic diseases. They didn't need microscopes and laboratories to observe that some diseases seemed to come from within a person while others seemed to spread between people through the air. Plague was clearly contagious, striking entire communities at once, and it thus had to come from outside. Most doctors agreed that this external plague had to come from a corruption of the air itself, a corruption that was eventually known as *miasma* in the Early Modern period. Where the plague doctors disagreed was over the original source of miasma. Was it a universal corruption sent directly by God to punish humanity? Was it a poisonous exhalation of the Earth caused by earthquakes opening subterranean caverns? Was it caused by exposed corpses or overflowing swamps? All of these theories were offered to explain the source of the poisonous miasma.

**“Plague doctors argued that the Black Death was a pestilential fever that corrupted the humours, causing the horrific plague buboes, swollen with blood and pus”**

One of the most popular theories was described at length by the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Paris in a letter written to the king of France in 1348, who had asked the professors for their advice as the plague approached the royal capital. These learned authorities combined medicine with astrology, which was generally considered a serious science at that time, to explain the cause and spread of the plague: the air of the Earth, they said, was overheated and corrupted by a 1345 conjunction of the planets Mars, Saturn and Jupiter (all of

which were considered hot, violent, or corrupt in its astrological influence) in the zodiac sign of Aquarius (obviously a wet sign). This unnaturally hot and moist air blew across Asia towards Europe, causing plague wherever it passed. When medieval doctors referred to a 'pestilence', they often meant not the disease itself but the poisoned air that engendered the disease in human bodies.

To protect people from the pestilential air, doctors encouraged the wearing or holding of sweet or bitter substances, such as violets, wormwood, vinegar, or (if you were wealthy) a





chunk of ambergris, a strongly scented secretion of a sperm whale's intestinal lining. They also recommended burning pitch, incense, or bitter-smelling woods to purge and purify the air. And after the discovery and mastery of gunpowder in the later Middle Ages, they also recommended firing cannons to combat miasma with the gun smoke. In a woodcut from a 1491 medical textbook, *Fasciculus Medicinae*, we can see several of these preventive measures in action: the doctor holds a sponge, most likely soaked in vinegar, to his face, and his attendants hold long torches and an incense burner.

Many educated plague doctors wrote short books, known as plague treatises, to advise their peers and the literate public on plague prevention. They were already publishing these treatises during the Black Death itself. The Spanish physician Jacme d'Agramont wrote the first such work in April 1348. He composed it in his vernacular tongue of Catalan, rather than in the usual educated language of Latin, so that non-professionals could read it. Other early plague doctors include the Bolognese professor Gentile da Foligno, who died of the plague himself in 1348 after writing several casebooks on the subject, and Johannes

von Göttingen, a German physician and bishop. It was not just European Christians who wrote about the plague: the Muslim physicians Ibn Khâtima and Ibn al-Khatib, both natives of the Islamicate caliphate of Granada, wrote treatises about the plague, as did the Jewish physician Abraham Caslari of Besalú. Groups of physicians in the faculties of medicine at the universities of Paris and Montpellier teamed up to write authoritative documents about the plague. Regardless of their religious or educational origins, almost all of these plague authors wrote about the same topics: how to identify the astrological and environmental signs of a coming plague; how to avoid the plague by keeping the humours in balance and cleaning one's home or city of potential sources of miasma; and how to treat the plague with herbal remedies, external plasters and bloodletting.

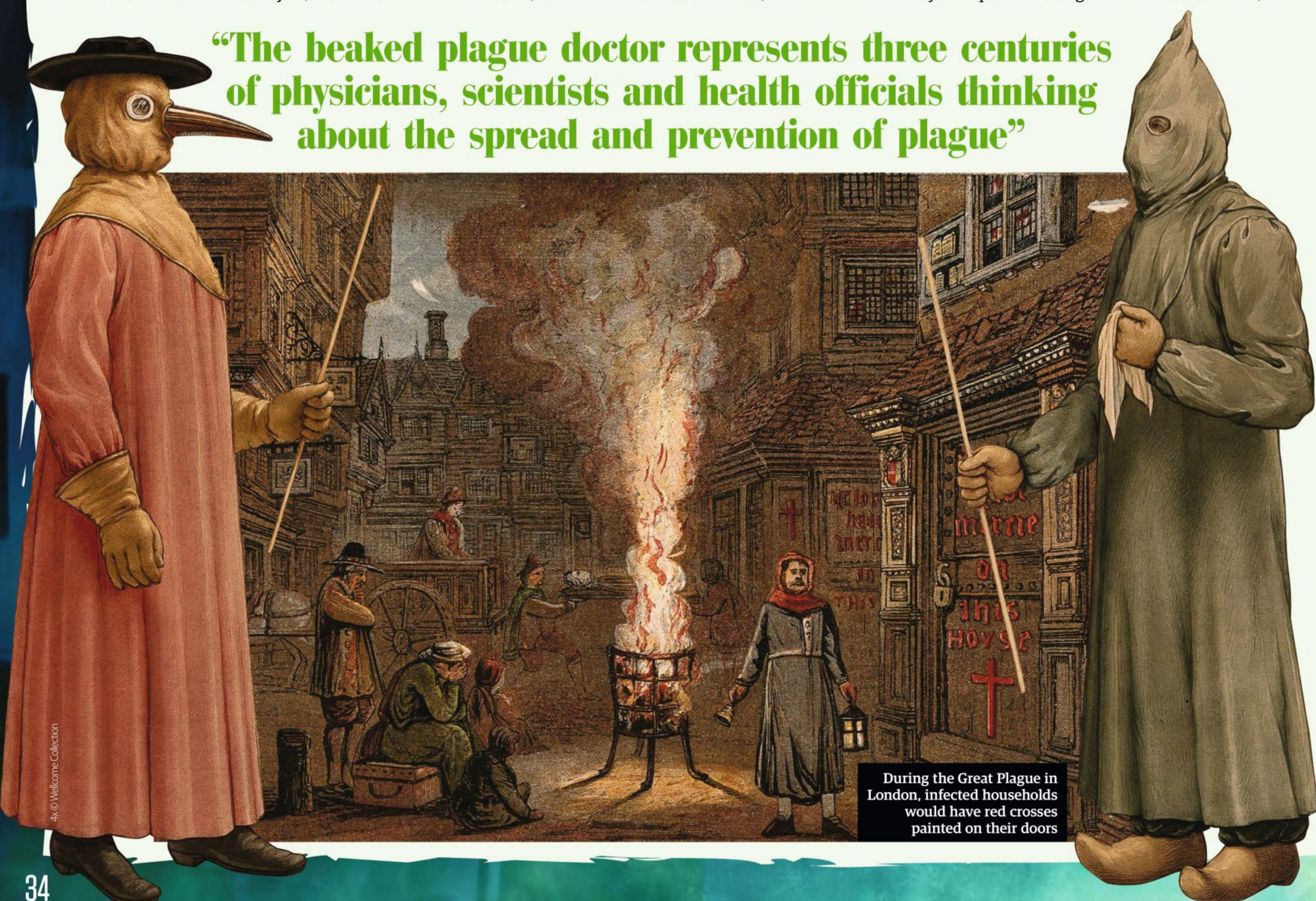
### The Evolution of Plague Medicine

By the end of the Middle Ages, usually dated to about 1500, there were more doctors than ever and a greater variety of medical professionals, who could focus on individual patients or epidemic diseases, urban and rural health issues, and

local and foreign diseases. Historians of science and medicine also recognise a greater emphasis on detailed observation among Early Modern physicians, an essential feature of the developing Scientific Revolution. Doctors became increasingly adept at distinguishing and describing a wide range of swellings, blotches, fevers and other symptoms on the people in their communities, so they could determine whether an outbreak of disease was actually plague or another epidemic disease, such as typhus, influenza, or dysentery.

This sort of medical observation was made possible through the growth of state-sponsored public health programs aimed at preventing and curing disease throughout large populations. One of the best-known examples of later medieval public health is the establishment of quarantines (from the early modern Italian phrase, *quaranta giorni*, 'forty days') to isolate populations and to keep potentially plague-ridden travellers and ships out of a city. Plague quarantines had been used at least since the 1370s in the wealthy city-states on the Mediterranean Sea, such as Florence, Mantua, Milan, Venice and Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik), but they were not widespread until the later 15th century. For quarantine regulations to be effective,

**“The beaked plague doctor represents three centuries of physicians, scientists and health officials thinking about the spread and prevention of plague”**



During the Great Plague in London, infected households would have red crosses painted on their doors

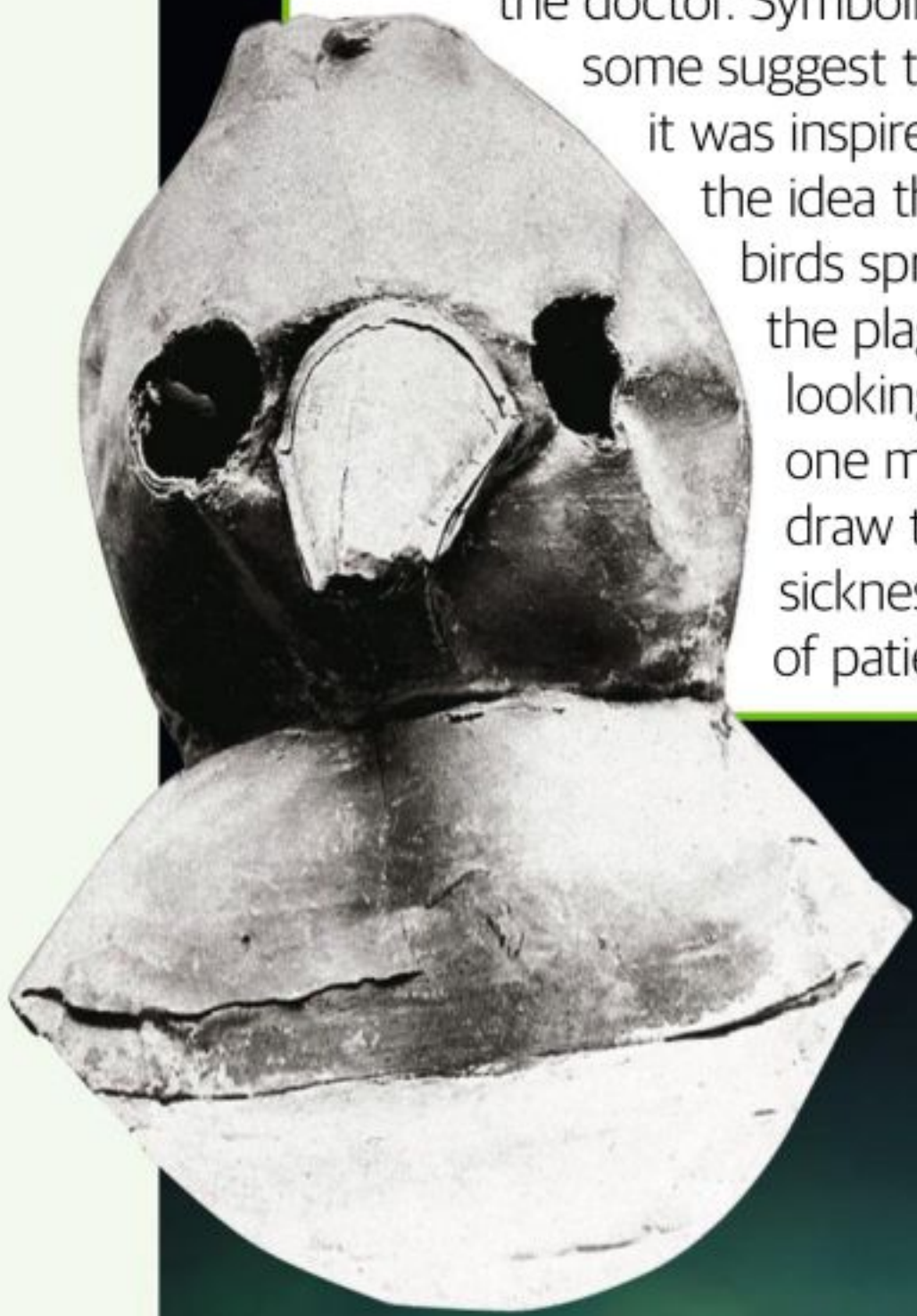


## Plague Doctor Breakdown

The key elements and background of the famous 'medico della peste' costume

### Avian Influence

There is much debate over the origin of the bird-like mask of the plague doctor. In practical terms the beak was used as a kind of respirator, packed with herbs and oils like mint and lavender to block the bad smells, or miasma as it was known, from infecting the doctor. Symbolically, some suggest that it was inspired by the idea that birds spread the plague so looking like one might draw the sickness out of patients.



### The pomander

Since early plague doctors believed that the sickness was spread by miasma (corrupted air) they also thought that good, strong smells could ward it off. So it is that pomanders, citrus fruit, sometimes held in a container with strong scented liquids, would be worn as a protection against illness and the general odours of the street. The simple form of the pomander, an orange studded with cloves, is still used as a gift and symbol at Christmas and New Year.

### No exposure

The long overcoat with the mask tucked into the collar is an example of how the outfit was designed to reduce skin exposure to the air. The clothing is said to have been coated in suet (animal fat) as a barrier to stop the miasma penetrating the leather.

### Symbolic and practical

Many elements of the classic plague doctor costume play both practical and symbolic roles. The entire composition of the outfit is intended to prevent illness from spreading to the physician, but elements like the hat also helped to identify them as medical doctors.

### Keeping notes

Alongside attempting to treat plagues the other very important function of the plague doctor was to record the spread of the disease and to bury and record the dead. As such the doctors would have travelled with notebooks and kept extensive records of their patients that would prove useful to future studies.

### Minimal contact

The cane of the plague doctor was important in minimising even further the risks to the physician by preventing direct body to body contact with a plague patient. The cane could be used to interact with the body, lifting limbs and so forth as well as indicating areas for treatment to family members who were already exposed.





# Famous Plague Physicians

The writers whose records helped to chronicle the spread of epidemics

**Abraham Caslari** (active 1323-1349), a Jewish physician from Besalú, Spain, translator of Arabic and Latin medical treatises, and author of a plague treatise in Hebrew.

**Gentile da Foligno** (d.1348), Italian professor of medicine and author of multiple treatises on plague for different audiences. He apparently died while treating plague patients.

**Guy de Chauliac** (ca.1300-1368), French physician and surgeon, who described the spread and treatment of plague in his book *Chirurgia Magna* (Great Surgery). He gained fame as the personal physician to Clement VI (1342-1352), the pope during the Black Death.

**Ibn Khatima** (d.ca.1369), Muslim physician and poet in Spain, wrote about his experience diagnosing and treating plague patients in Almería in the work *Description And Remedy For Escaping Plague* (1349).

**Ibn al-Khatib** (d.1374), a Muslim author and physician in the kingdom of Granada in southern Iberia, and friend of Ibn Khâtima. He wrote *A Very Useful Inquiry Into The Horrible Sickness* in the period 1349-1352, in which he strongly argued that plague was contagious, a concept that went against some interpretations of Islamic law.

**Jacme d'Agramont** (d.1348), professor of medicine at the University of Lérida. He wrote the earliest dated medieval plague treatise, entitled *Regimen Of Protection Against Epidemics*.

**Jean Jacmé** (active ca.1364), personal physician to the king of France and the pope, as well as chancellor of the University of Montpellier. He wrote a short treatise on the plague which was copied and spread more widely by Bengt Knutsson, a 15th-century bishop in Sweden.

**John of Burgundy** (active ca.1365) wrote one of the most popular plague treatises, which he directed to non-professional audiences. It was translated from Latin into many European vernaculars, and copied and printed widely for more than 300 years.

A physician and his two companions visit a patient sick with the plague. Woodcut from Hieronymus Brunschwig, 1500



numerous cities and states necessarily had to work together, sending news of plague quickly and being honest about the presence and scope of an epidemic. Quarantine was made more effective through the establishment of permanent plague hospitals or 'pesthouses'. These became a common feature of cities across Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries. Some were built within the city walls, but most were located well outside of a city to isolate confirmed and potential plague patients.

To help monitor and contain epidemic diseases and to run and staff the plague hospitals, first Italian city-states and then royal governments elsewhere in Europe established health boards and hired public physicians. One of the first such boards appeared in 1486, when the Republic of Venice founded a permanent *Provveditori alla Sanità* (Commission on Public Health) to oversee the rapid identification of plague, the deployment of trained physicians, the quarantine of the sick and the careful burial of the dead. Other cities responded much later. The city of Naples created a *Magistrato della Sanità* (Board of Health) in 1656 in reaction to a major outbreak of plague. The entire Kingdom of Naples also funded a royal *Protomedicato*, a medical tribunal that oversaw and licensed pharmacies and town physicians especially in times of plague. The establishment

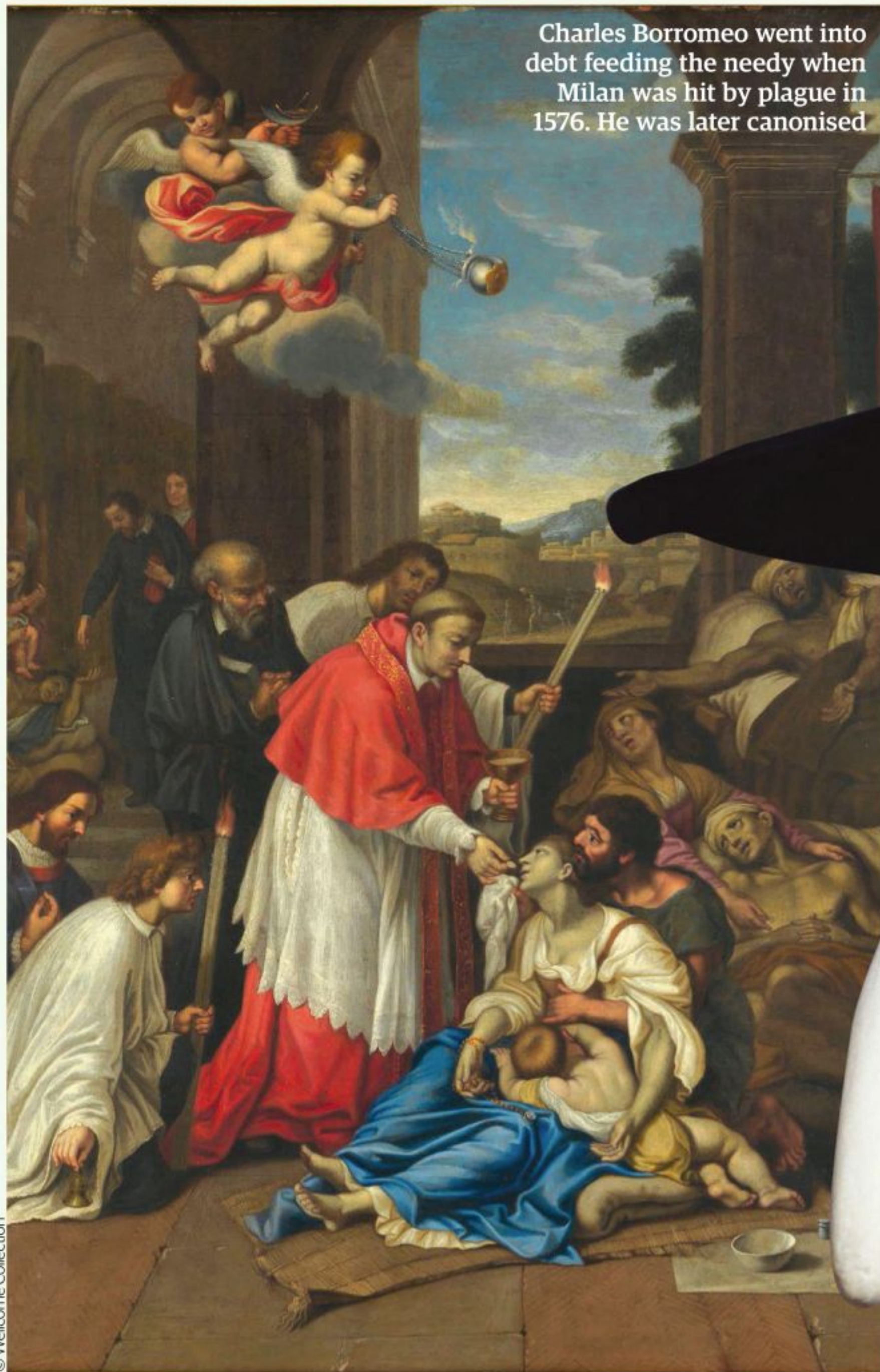
of public health policy did not always work as planned: during the plagues of 1600 and 1625 in London, the College of Physicians refused to help the government of London fight the epidemic, as most of its members fled the city and urged everyone else to do so as well. However, during the Great Plague of 1665, some of the professional London physicians considered it their public duty to stay in the city and treat victims. They volunteered their services as official plague doctors.

## The Masked Plague Doctor

After nearly three centuries of treatments, treatises and policies for the plague we finally meet the beaked 'plague doctor', who too often represents the entire history of plague for popular audiences. The first mention of the costume that is so well-known today is found in a work written in the mid-17th century by Charles de Lorme, a royal physician in the service of King Louis XIII of France. De Lorme wrote in his autobiography that earlier in his life, during a 1619 plague outbreak in Paris, he developed an outfit made entirely of Moroccan goat leather, including boots, breeches, a long coat, hat and gloves. The main feature of the costume is a tight-fitting mask, fitted with crystal eyepieces, extending into a long beak, about half a foot long, filled with perfume or aromatic herbs.



# Dark Arts Of The Plague Doctors



Charles Borromeo went into debt feeding the needy when Milan was hit by plague in 1576. He was later canonised



A participant in the modern Venice Carnival wearing a 'plague doctor' mask

That beak is of course the most famous feature of the costume and essential for the doctor to prevent the inhalation of pestilential miasma.

It is not clear if De Lorme deserves full credit for the invention of the plague doctor outfit, for there are signs of similar plague suits a little before his time. Physicians describing plagues in Grenoble in 1565 and Angers in 1582 mention the use of special hoods to prevent the transmission of pestilential air between the patient and the

costume, but our best visual evidence for the beaked plague doctor outfit comes only from the year 1656, when an especially devastating plague killed hundreds of thousands of people in Rome and Naples. At that time, several artists made engravings of the outfit worn by Italian plague doctors. Some of these artists took their subject seriously. For example, the German engraver Gerhart Altzenbach published a popular image of such a plague doctor, with text describing how his

not to historical reality, but they have nonetheless shaped much of how the stereotypical plague doctor is understood today.

The engravings of Altzenbach and Fürst may also have inspired the inclusion of the plague doctor, or *Medico della Peste*, as a standard character of the Italian *commedia dell'arte* since the 17th century. The plague doctor, and especially his beaked mask, has become one of the most popular costumes in the *Carnevale*, or Carnival of Venice. In fact, some costume historians have argued that the beaked plague doctor was nothing but a fictional and comedic character at first, and that he actually inspired genuine doctors to use the costume during the outbreaks of 1656 and 1720. Without more informative written reports and images from this period, which can help us understand better whether the outfit was actually used, it is impossible to tell which came first: the actual plague outfit or the Carnival costume. What we do know is that the beaked plague doctor represents three centuries of physicians, scientists and health officials thinking about the spread and prevention of plague. They represent changing ideas about the causes and transmission of disease, about the relationship between doctors and patients, and about the role of the state in protecting public health.

**“Some of the professional London physicians considered it their public duty to stay in the city and treat plague victims”**

physician. There is no indication, however, that these costumes also included the long beak. In either case, it is surprising that it took between two and three centuries for physicians to design such an outfit, but it was during that time that physicians came to focus more on theories of interpersonal contagion than on a more universal miasma that could affect entire communities. Wearing these protective costumes suggests that doctors had grown more concerned about catching plague from a patient than from the air itself.

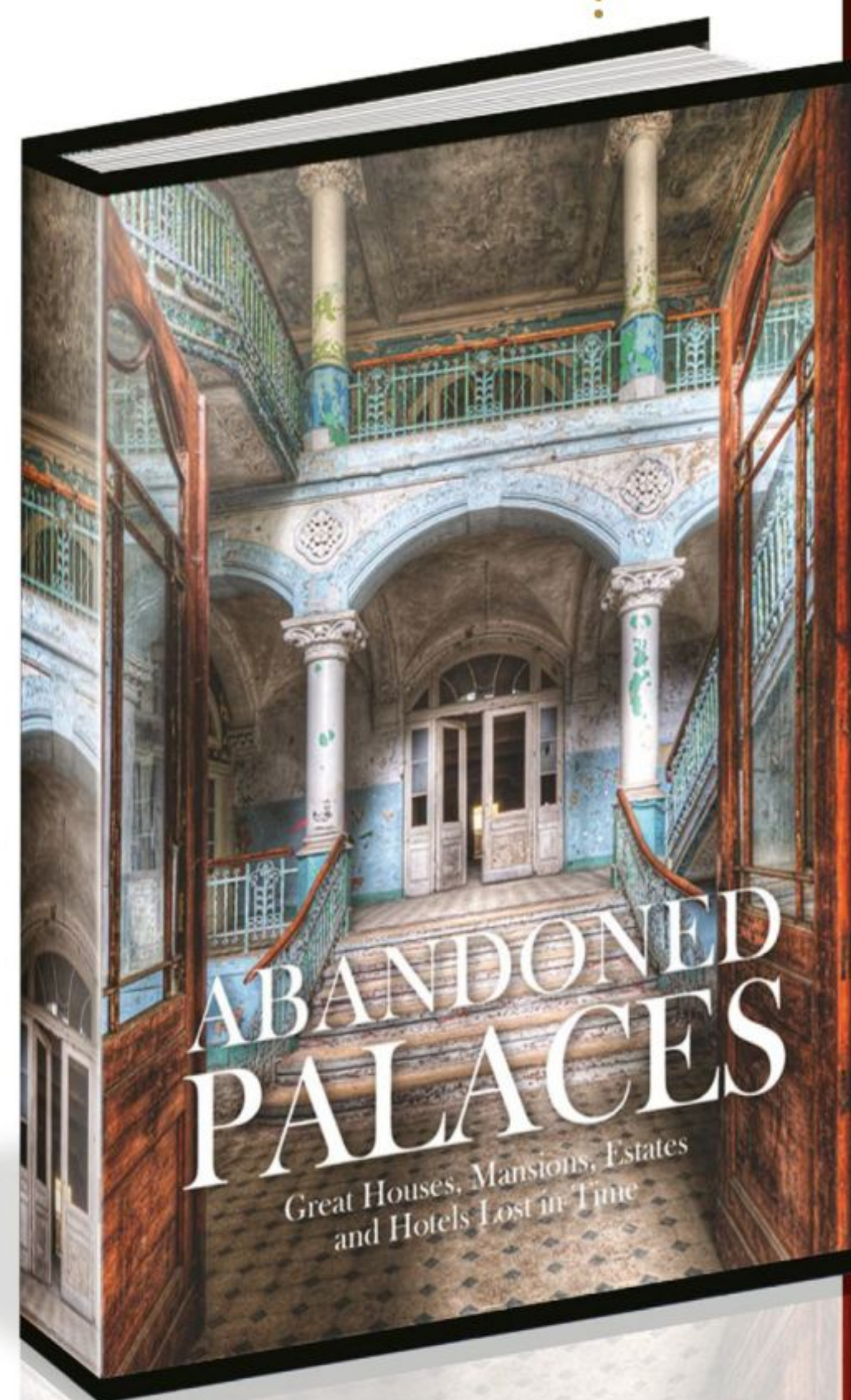
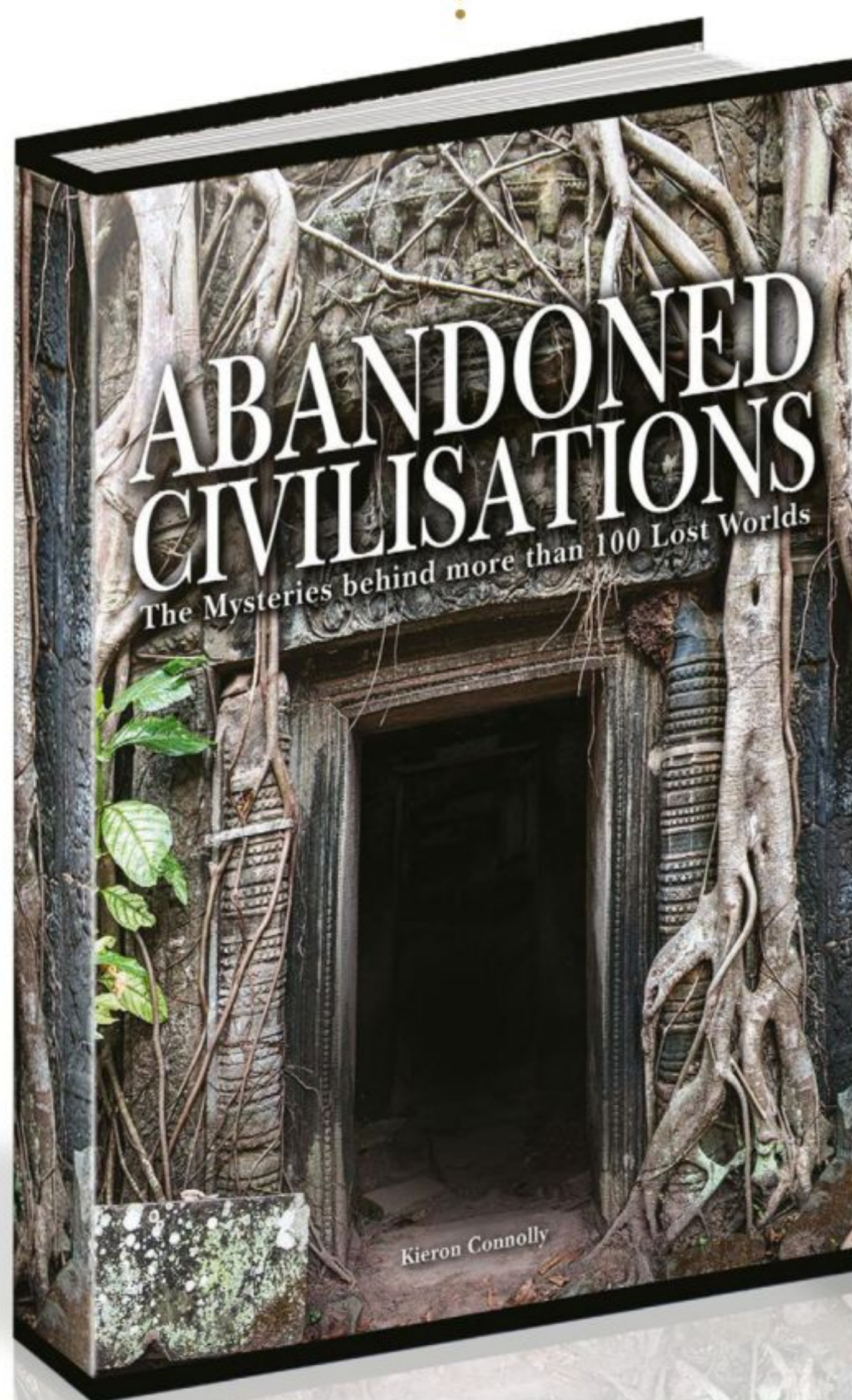
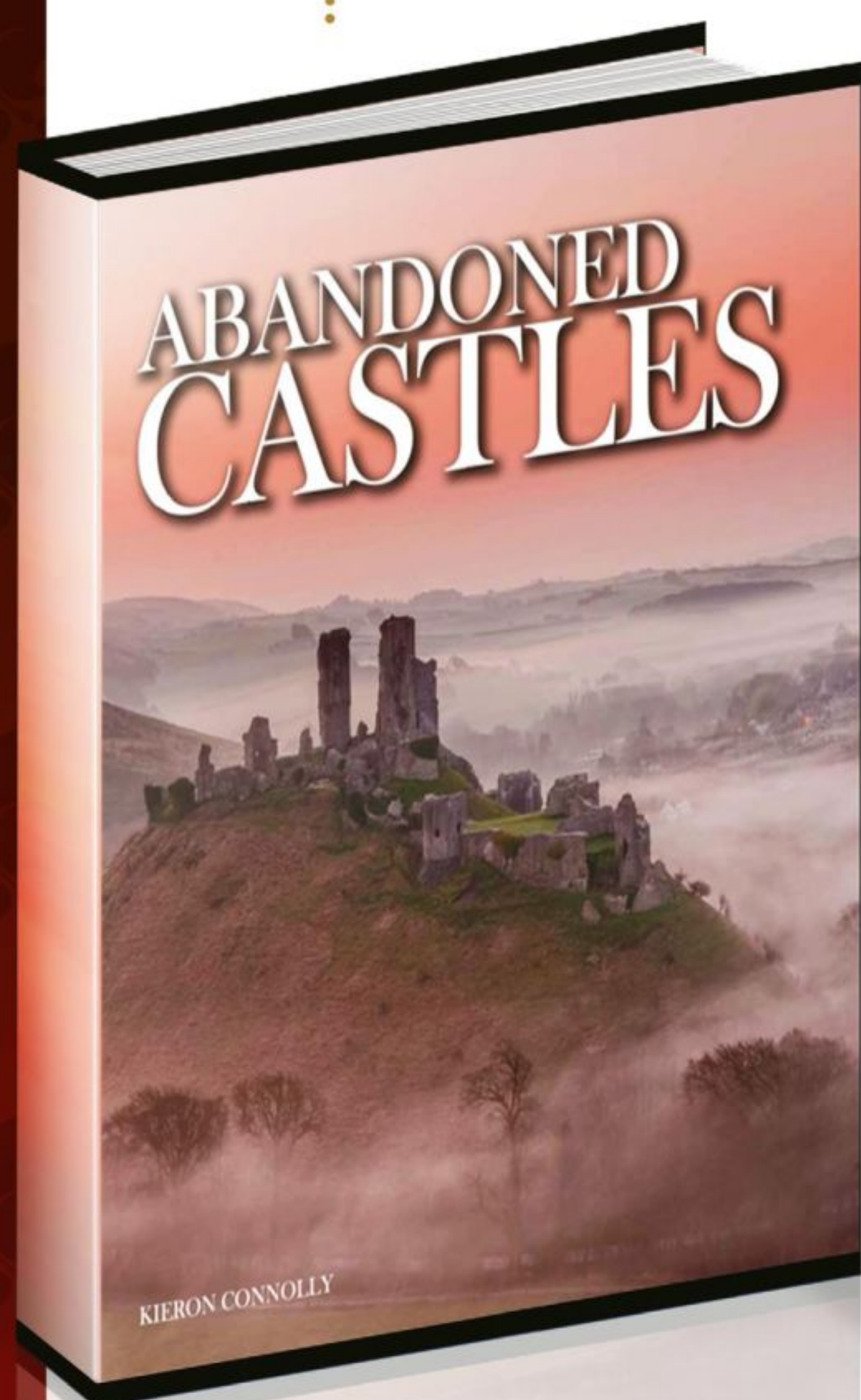
De Lorme left a written description of his plague

outfit protected the wearer against death. Even better known is Paulus Fürst's satirical engraving of a plague doctor, which he copied directly from Altzenbach. He called the image *Doctor Schnabel von Rom*, or 'Doctor Beaky from Rome', and describes how he does nothing but terrify people and take money from the dead and dying. It was Fürst who added some of the elements to the plague doctor that appear in versions of the outfit to this day, such as the claw-like gloves and the pointing stick topped by a bat-winged hourglass. These elements belong to satire and



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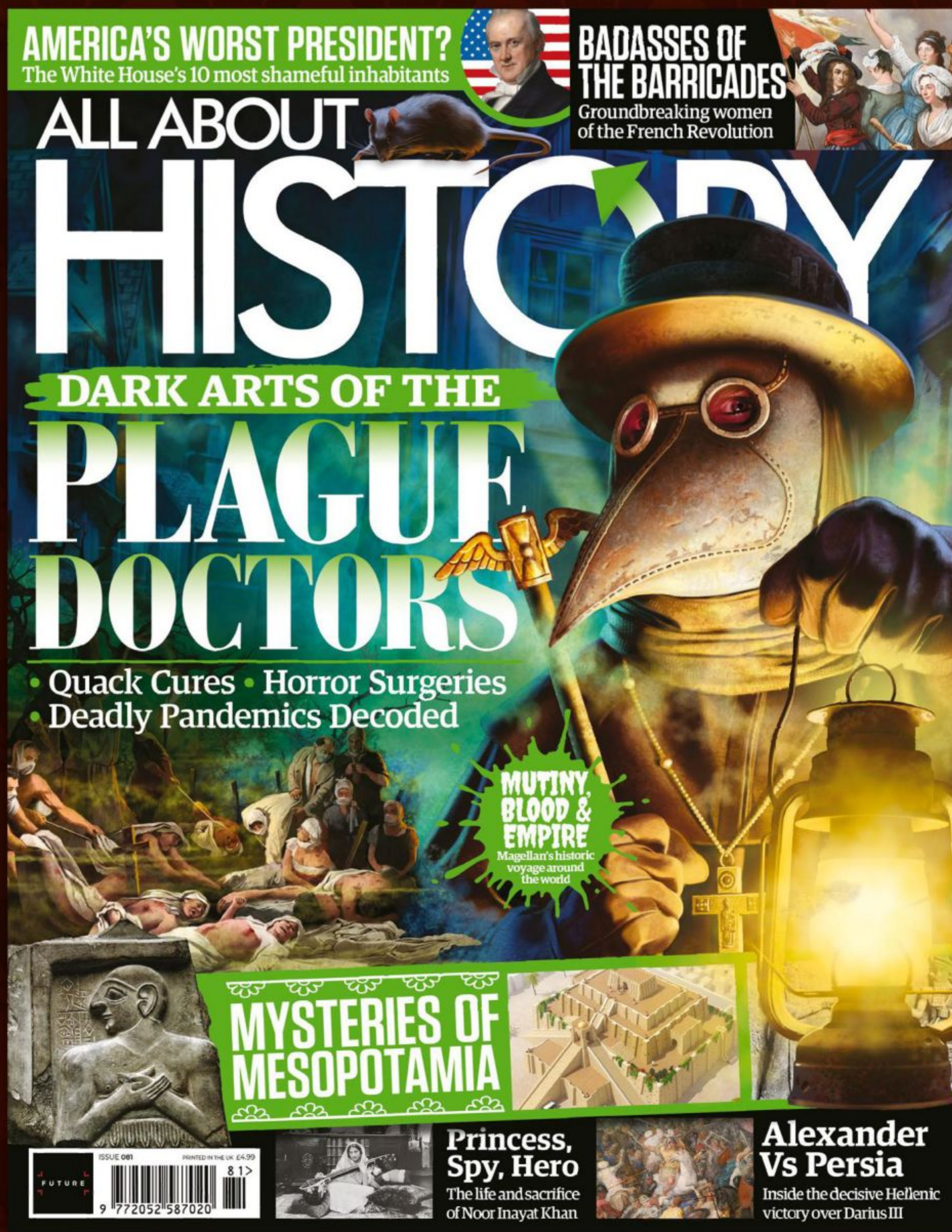
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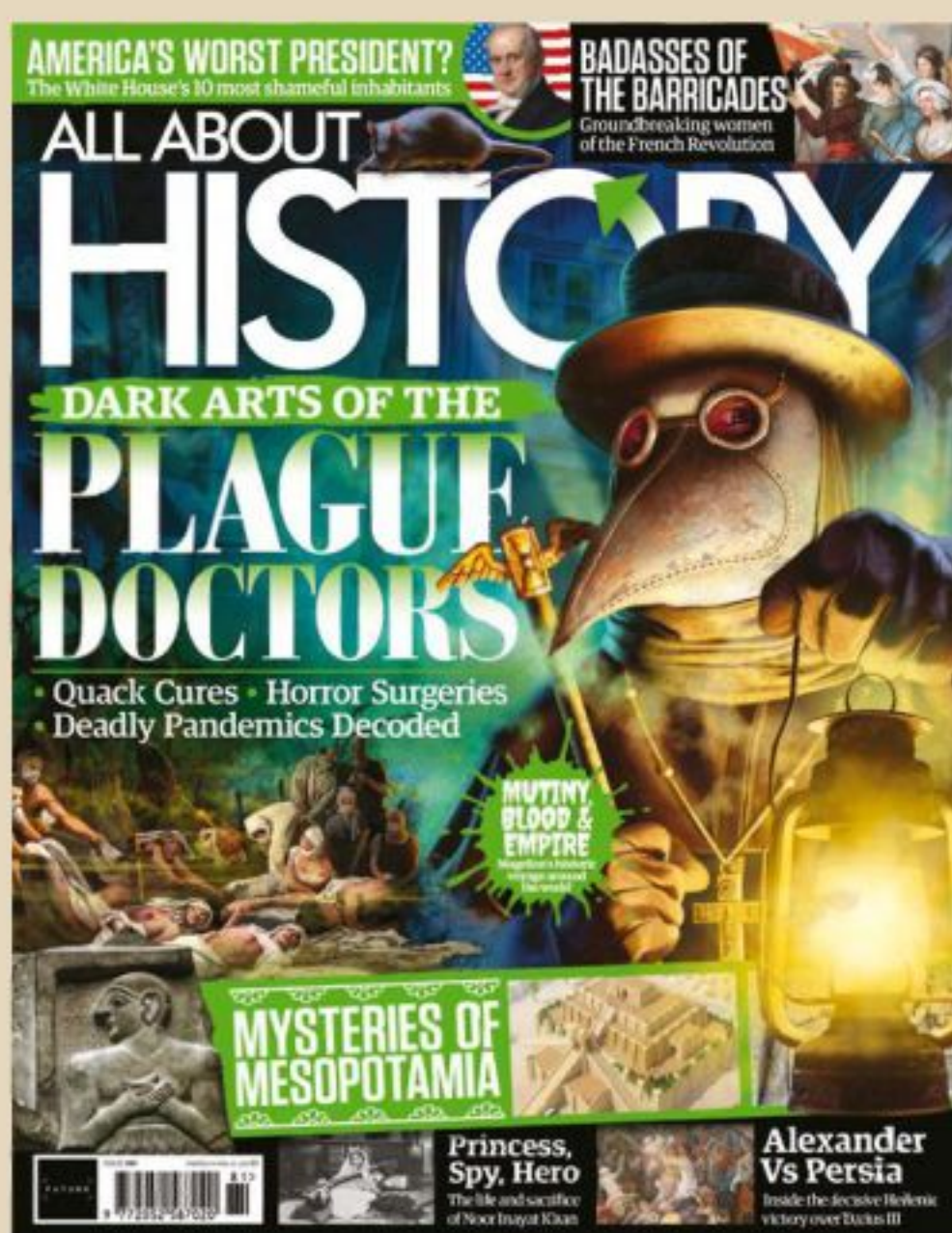




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# THE QUEST FOR JUSTICE

Acclaimed author Mary Fulbrook discusses how many perpetrators of the Holocaust have still not been held accountable for their crimes

Interview by Jonathan Gordon

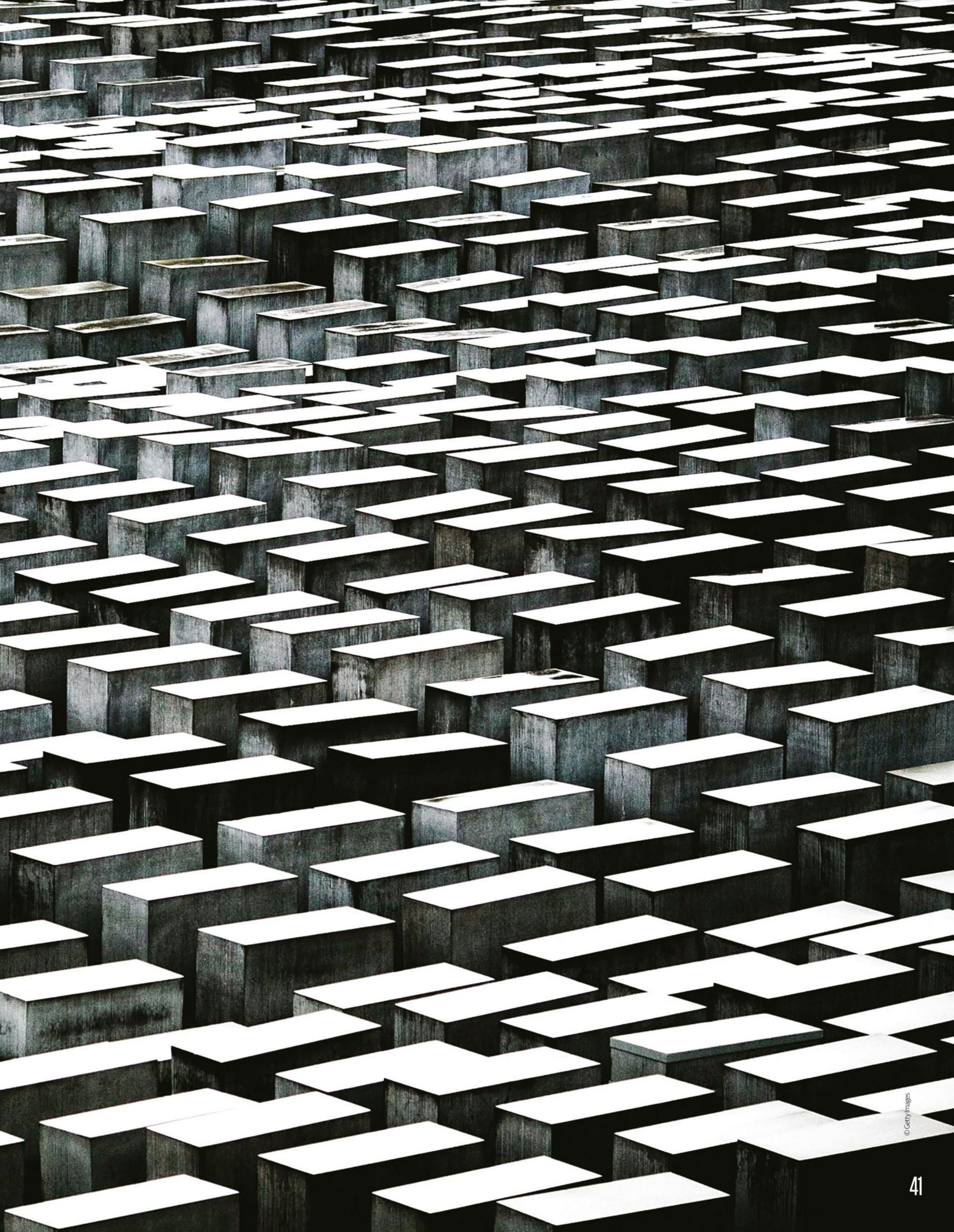
**R***eckonings: Legacies Of Nazi Persecution And The Quest For Justice* looks to broaden the way in which the Holocaust is often remembered, expanding it not just from Auschwitz to the wider mechanisms of persecution in Nazi Germany, but also the longer tail of prosecution (or lack thereof) of perpetrators in the years following WWII.

It was the Wolfson History Prize 2019 winner, with the judges stating:

"Quoting many moving accounts from victims of the extreme cruelty perpetrated by the Nazis, Fulbrook moves through the generations to trace the legacy of Nazi persecution in postwar Germany. A masterly work which explores the shifting boundaries and structures of memory."

We spoke with Mary Fulbrook about her important work and how the passing of time is affecting how we approach the Holocaust and the prosecution of those who aided and abetted it.







***In the early years of prosecutions of the Holocaust, was a lack of witnesses ever a roadblock to justice?***

It changed over time. One of the things I did in the book was to look at trials over the decades, and the need for witnesses has changed dramatically in the last few years since the Demjanjuk trial [John Demjanjuk was convicted, pending appeal, in 2011 as an accessory to the murder of 28,060 Jews while working at Sobibór extermination camp in Poland]. Witnesses for most of West Germany's history, the Federal Republic, were used to try to show that a particular person had committed murder with particular intent or particular subjective motivation, and particular brute force, on a particular day at a particular time – and for that you needed witness testimony and it was very easily discredited in courts.

So where the killing machine was most perfect, as for example in Belzec, the extermination camp, seven out of eight SS guards who were prosecuted were acquitted. They had been so successful in killing everybody that only two people ever survived that camp (and one of them was assassinated in 1946), and so the SS guards just argued that they were only following orders and they were not murderers in the sense of West German criminal law definition of murder.

What changed at the Demjanjuk trial was that it now became sufficient to say somebody was part of the machinery in a place where mass murder was being carried out; and because they were

actually functioning in that place at that time, they were also in some sense aiding and abetting the murders that were being carried out, and so you no longer needed this survivor testimony. So witnesses were absolutely crucial, but in two quite different ways. I think what has happened in recent trials is that witnesses have come simply to bear witness to the impact of that past on themselves or their families.

***Was the legal system in Europe simply insufficiently equipped to handle some of these cases; did it have the precedent to lean on the mechanics?***

Well, the West German legal system didn't, the East German legal system and the Austrian legal

systems did. And it was a political decision in West Germany to not adopt the Nuremberg Principles, which are appropriate to a system of mass murder and collective violence. And in part for good reasons, namely to show that what was committed under Hitler was a crime even then, but it had this perverse effect that you couldn't actually then find people guilty if they were only following orders and herding people into gas chambers. You could put 300,000 people to death and not be a murderer, it was just a total distortion.

In East Germany former Nazi perpetrators were six or seven times as likely to be convicted as in West Germany and that was in part because they had a different legal system and in part because they were more determined to bring them to prosecution. There was a different mentality. The legal profession in West Germany was still very Nazified, so judges who had served in Hitler's courts went on to serve in the Federal Republic, which was not the case in East Germany. They had a total turnover of the legal profession.

And I think in Austria it's different again, the legal system would have allowed easier convictions in terms of their particular legal system, but the juries were much more likely to acquit known Nazis so the acquittals began to be a public embarrassment and from the mid-'70s they stopped trying to bring former Nazis to trial at all, because it was becoming so embarrassing that juries just acquitted them. So it's a different reason in each case there.

**“YOU COULD PUT 300,000 PEOPLE TO DEATH AND NOT BE A MURDERER, IT WAS JUST A TOTAL DISTORTION”**



The Nuremberg trials took place at the Palace of Justice, where some, but not all, Nazis were tried



***In the case of West Germany what was the calculus for being more cautious in their prosecutions?***

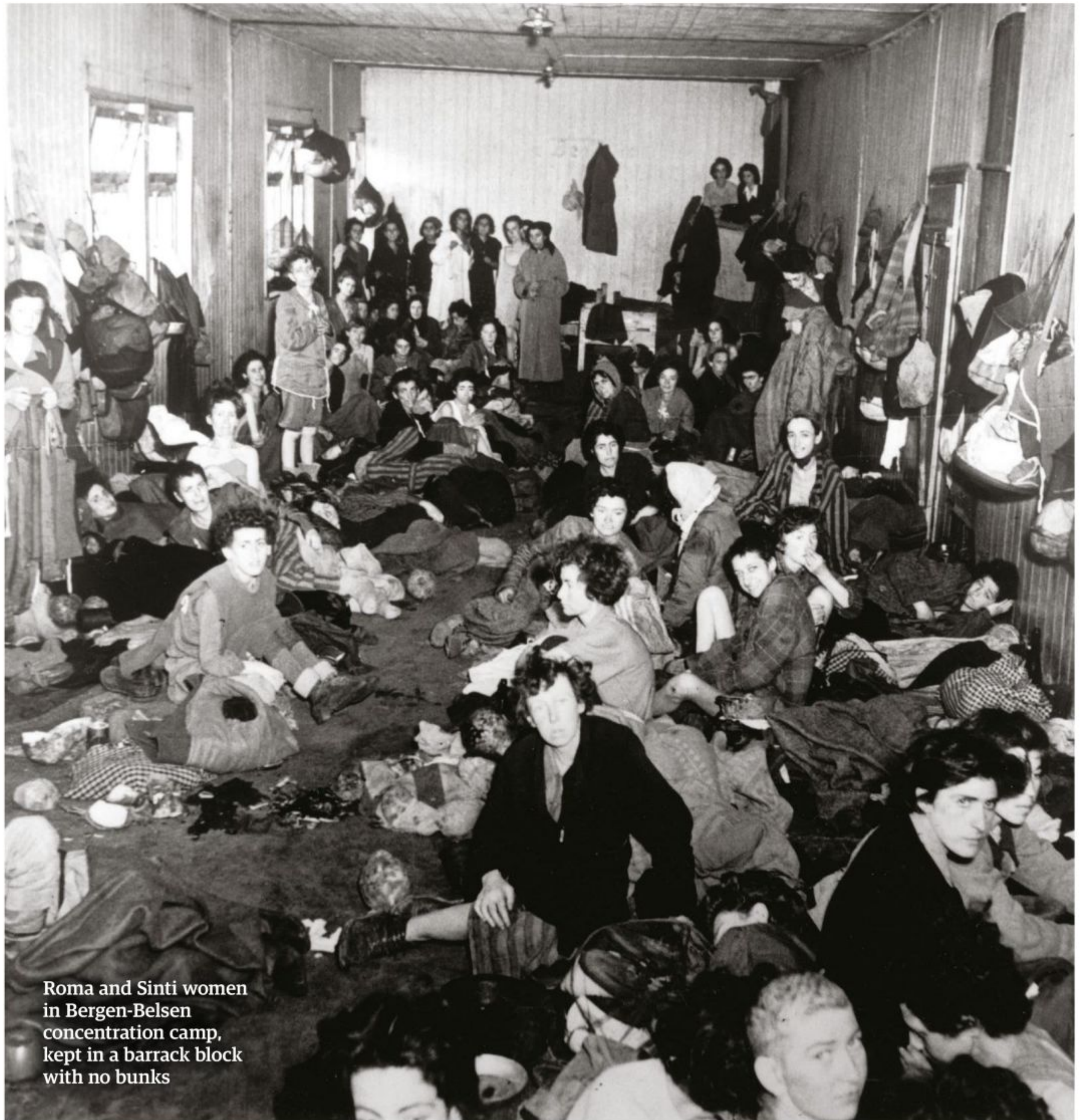
There were a number of different things going on. I think in the late 1940s to early 1950s when the Federal Republic is just being founded the Cold War plays an incredibly important role for America, particularly. The Western Allies see the threat of communism as greater than the importance of dealing with the Nazi past and so the Allies themselves start reducing sentences. People who were given life sentences have their sentences reduced to a shorter number of years and then there are amnesties; people are released early in the 1950s.

I think then the Cold War becomes important in a quite different way in the late 1950s/early 1960s, when East Germany starts using the fact that there are Nazis in high places in West Germany as a weapon in its Cold War propaganda against the West; and that stimulates West Germany into re-opening the attempt to prosecute, particularly because the Statute of Limitations is beginning to run out. So there are big parliamentary debates about the Statute of Limitations and whether to extend it for the Nazi crimes of murder. But that gives an urgency to it in the early 1960s, which is when the Auschwitz trial starts being mounted. So political considerations change over time in different contexts.

***An important area you touch on in your book is the way industries took advantage of the camps as a source of slave labour. Why do you think this has been largely sidelined and in many cases unpunished?***

It's one of the shocking aspects of all this; the notion of perpetrator was narrowed down to a lower class thug, preferably a Ukrainian or somebody else as a concentration camp guard, and the fact that then German businessmen got away with murder, literally. Friedrich Flick, who when he died in 1972 was probably the richest man in Germany, one of the richest in the world, never paid a single cent of compensation to those few slave labourers who had survived; eighty per cent of slave labourers he employed died on the job. Only twenty per cent actually made it through and those who had survived long enough to try and receive compensation failed, and he didn't pay a single cent.

I follow through some of the areas of slave labour in quite some detail in the book and I think that it's absolutely shocking, that businesses, the common names that we still talk about today, the IG Farben successor companies, BASF, Hoechst and so on, made fortunes on the backs of slave labour and were never brought to account. I don't know why that was so downplayed, but I think in the period of the economic miracle and Western determination to combat communism, getting the economy going again, preventing people from turning to



Roma and Sinti women in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, kept in a barrack block with no bunks



Survivors of Auschwitz leave the concentration camp having been liberated in February 1945



3x © Getty Images



# PERSECUTION WITHOUT END

Why Pierre Seel's persecution is so important and illustrative of the gay experience under Nazi rule

An important element of the post-WWII Holocaust experience that Fulbrook discusses in her book is the experience of men identified and imprisoned for being homosexual. Upon returning home they would often find themselves unable to share their pain and grief as they still lived in an environment that was hostile to their sexuality.

"I use the case of Pierre Seel in the book because he was courageous enough to actually write about it," she tells us. Seel was arrested by the Vichy authorities in May 1941 and then sent to the Schirmeck-Vorbrück camp near Strasbourg where he faced starvation, torture and forced labour until he was released without explanation in November 1941. He was made a German citizen and in March 1942 was forced to join the Reich Labour Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst or RAD) and served as an aid to a German officer in Vienna. He spent the next few years being sent to various posts in the German military until resistance to the Soviet invasion began to fall apart and he was left to find his way home, taking administrative jobs along the way.

"He's written an absolutely heart-rending account and he said for years afterwards he was so ashamed he couldn't talk to his family, he couldn't talk to anyone," says Fulbrook. "He tried to get married and indeed had children, but ended up as an alcoholic and had a divorce, and it was only in the 1980s that he finally thought, 'I must come out, I must tell this story.' I think one of the things I try to bring out in the book is that many survivors felt there was nobody who would listen, but at least in some survivor communities they felt they could talk to each other, and I think gay men felt particularly isolated in that respect." *Pierre Seel's book, Moi, Pierre Seel, déporté homosexuel, was published in 1994.*



Pierre Seel (left) speaks with Gad Beck, another gay survivor of the Holocaust

The Nuremberg trials were military tribunals that began 19 November 1945 and concluded 1 October 1946



communist causes and so on, were very significant political considerations in the '50s and '60s.

***Do you feel that there are any gaps in our understanding of the Holocaust because there was a reticence to confront the full scale of it in the immediate aftermath of WWII?***

There were things that I wanted to bring out in this book which are not normally brought out because most books on the Holocaust treat the period as the period of the extermination of the Jews and then finish with liberation and maybe just a few years after the end of the war. What I wanted to do was to treat it on a much broader scale; the persecution of many, many other groups, including homosexual men, Roma and Sinti, Jehovah's Witnesses, euthanasia victims and so on.

I wanted in the first part of the book to raise to attention individual stories, for example the suffering of gay men whose stories were never really told; and the fact that so many of these victim groups were still outcasts, still stigmatised and marginalised decades afterwards. Homosexuality was still a crime for the next quarter of a century and you get somebody released from a concentration camp going home

and being met by the same bureaucrat who had sent him to the concentration camp still in the same office saying, "Hey, you've still got two years of your prison sentence and so off to prison with you." It's just shocking, stories like that.

I think it's the late 1970s/'80s that people really start wanting to hear the whole life stories of Jewish survivors, and also to understand that there were survivors who were persecuted for other reasons as well and who achieved incredibly late recognition. The 'Gypsies', Roma and Sinti, only became recognised in the 1980s. With the victims of euthanasia, many families still felt stigmatised and uncomfortable about the fact that they themselves bore a measure of responsibility for having put their relative into a sanatorium for the mentally ill or physically disabled and therefore felt partially agonised by their own co-responsibility for that relative's death, and didn't want to talk about it as it was too painful to confront. So it didn't really come out in the open. And so many people were still in post in the sanatoria, for example, where the mass killing in gas chambers started in the euthanasia programme, you still had the same staff working in the clinics for decades after the war. You're not going to put up a plaque outside your office





The prosecution at Nuremberg was lead by US Prosecutor Robert H Jackson



Accusee John Demjanjuk died in 2012 while his appeal was still ongoing and so remained legally innocent



A young crowd witness the horrors of yesteryear on Holocaust Memorial Day at the Yad Vashem museum in Israel

**“YOU’RE NOT GOING TO PUT UP A PLAQUE SAYING ‘ON THIS SPOT I KILLED 10,000 PEOPLE’”**

saying ‘On this spot a few years ago I killed 10,000 people.’ So memorialisation could really only begin to come after a whole generation had passed through.

***Have we fully tackled the challenge of differentiating between the willing participants in the Holocaust and those who felt coerced to follow orders and do their jobs?***

That’s what my current book is about actually, the book I am writing now. I don’t think we have fully understood that yet and I think it is far more complicated than the old debates about consent and coercion, or terror and enthusiasm. We had very dichotomous debates from the 1980s onwards about whether the German people were frightened into obedience or were enthusiastic

followers of Hitler, which is a very simplistic dichotomy. I think it’s far, far more complicated than that and I’m trying to explore that a bit in the work that I’m doing at the moment.

***You use the concept of a mushroom cloud of memory around the Holocaust in your book. Could you explain that analogy a little for us?***

Yes, it just came to me that there was this massive explosion of violence in a wide area across Europe, in a large number of places, which immediately devastates those communities who are immediately affected and involved in those areas, but what it seems to have done is then wafted across a far wider area. This is why I think mushroom cloud analogy is important because it’s affected and contaminated and tainted far wider circles across the world in different areas over time. Like many things it has a half-life and it’s a generational half-life and my feeling is that for my generation, which is the second generation if you like, the people born after the war but looking back at it, it’s very vivid, very immediate because we know people who are intimately affected.

I talk about communities of connection and identification and I think that you are intrinsically

affected by it if you are personally connected with people who lived through it. I think for my children’s generation it is already a much more distant third generation and I think in the fourth, fifth and coming generations it will be past history, it will be dissipating in the wind. It will be of interest and continuing relevance, but in a different way. It won’t have the close personal impact, the emotional impact that it now does, so to some extent the mushroom cloud metaphor seemed to me really apposite.

***As we move from one generation to the next, do we have the same emotional connection to these events?***

I think the emotional agony is not the same the further away you get from the personal connection with it. I think you can have an emotional response reading any period of history. You can read about the plague or Black Death or 16th or 17th century history and feel agonised by the fates of our forebears, but the agony when you think about your own family or people you know and their families, it feels more personal. I think all history does elicit emotional connections and responses, otherwise we wouldn’t do history, it wouldn’t be relevant to us, we wouldn’t explore it. There are some parts of history obviously which are more like intellectual puzzles, but there are parts of history that are more or less evocative of emotional responses. I feel that this is something that has informed and structured us as people in this generation, which is different from looking back at previous eras where we don’t feel as intrinsically connected to what happened.

***Are we in any way better placed to look back and understand the motivation behind these horrific events with greater removal?***

I think we’re differently placed because we have different interests in it. I’ve had many people writing to me about this book and many of them say ‘this helps me to understand my grandfather better’ or comments to that effect, and so for some people there is a need, on a personal level, to try and understand what a close relative had been up to or how they should think or feel about that relative. I think we will be differently placed when we’re trying to understand how a system of collective violence can develop, be sustained, pull so many people into it and wreak such incredible havoc and destruction, and that I think is the bigger lesson that is so important to come out of this.

Mary Fulbrook’s book *Reckonings: Legacies Of Nazi Persecution And The Quest For Justice* was this year’s Wolfson History Prize winner and is available now from Oxford University Press.





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Chronicling the extraordinary, often misbegotten, bloody  
and brutal voyage of Ferdinand Magellan and the first  
recorded circumnavigation of the globe

Written by Jonathan Gordon







*Barrameda*

*Philippine Islands*

*Islands*

*Palawan*

*Brunei*

*Pacific Ocean*

*Ladrones Islands*

*Tidore*

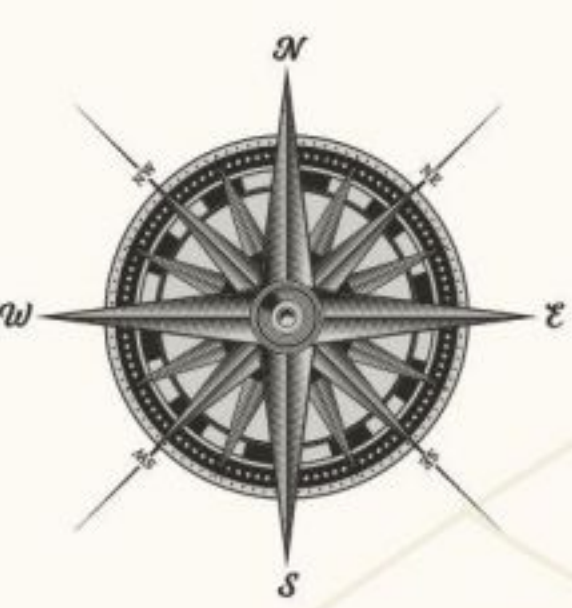
*Ambon Island*  
*Timor*

*Indian Ocean*

*Cape of Good Hope*

*Magellan*





**O**n 10 August 1519, five ships carrying 270 men known as the Armada de Molucca set out from Seville in search of a western route to the Spice Islands, now known as the Maluku Islands, in eastern Indonesia. On 8 September 1522, a single ship returned to Seville from the armada with only 18 crew members having successfully circumnavigated the world. As this would suggest, the journey was not without its costs. Originally led by

Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan, the journey was completed with Juan Sebastián Elcano at its head, with the Basque navigator promoted from Master to Captain General in the intervening years. Magellan had been killed; the crew had been decimated by illness, mutiny, conflict with local kingdoms and more. Here we'll break down the journey from beginning to end to chronicle the often bloody and vicious activities of both the armada and the peoples it encountered along the way.



## A Clash of Superpowers

**Dates: 10 August 1519 - 20 September 1519**

**Locations: Seville and Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Spain)**

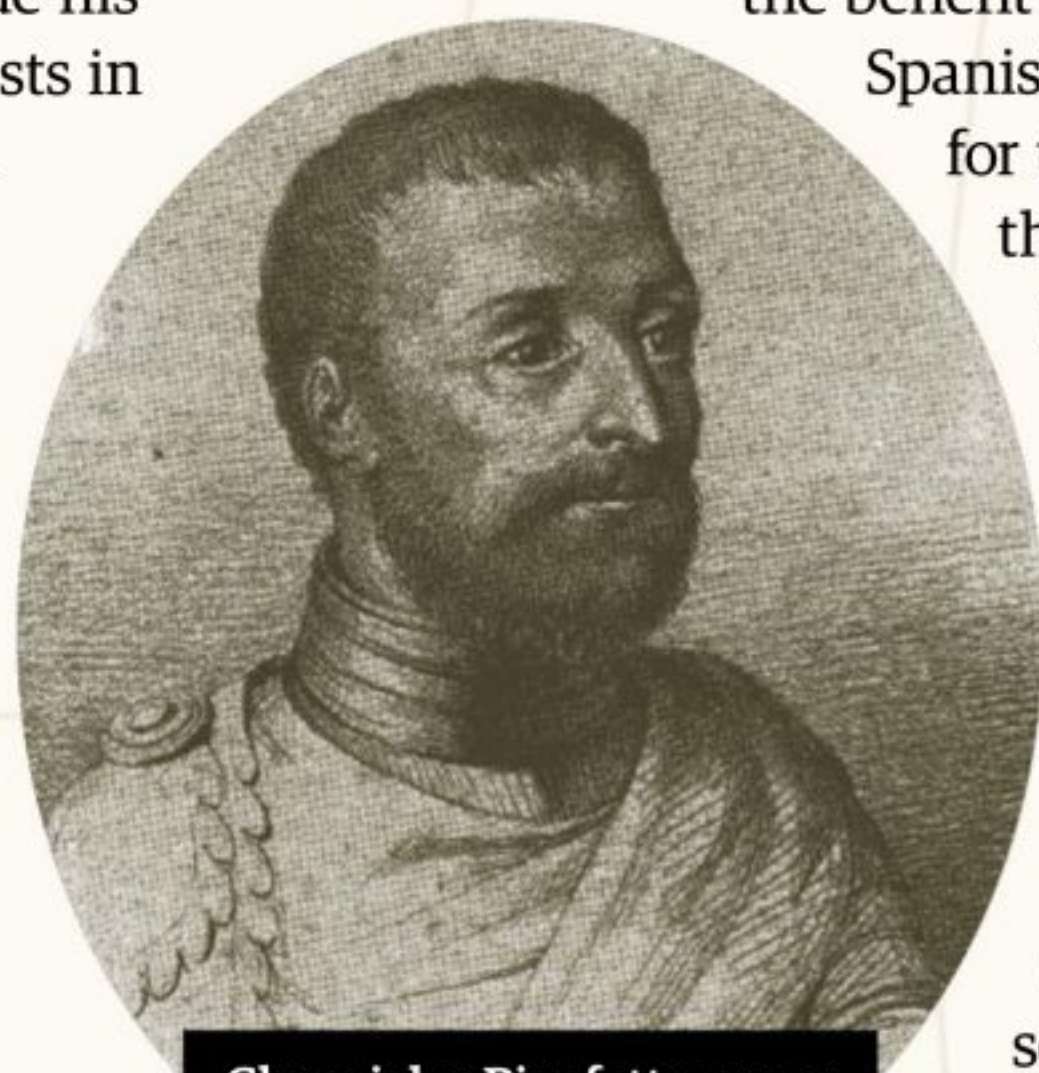
The search for a route through the New World that would connect the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean had long been the mission of Ferdinand Magellan. Having made his name in expeditions and conquests in Indonesia, he became convinced that a path to the region could be found that avoided the treacherous waters around the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa. However, having fallen out of favour in his native Portugal and having his mission rejected by King Manuel I, he turned to his home nation's greatest imperial rival, Spain.

The recently crowned Charles I (soon to be elected Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V) was keen to back the expedition in the hopes of replenishing the royal coffers and making an early mark in the history books for his reign. So it was that the Portuguese explorer would foreswear his

homeland and pledge allegiance to the king of Spain, promising to bring him riches in the form of spices from the East and forming alliances to the benefit of his kingdom along the way.

Spanish expeditions were well known for their record keeping and it's thanks to these records, most particularly those made by Italian scholar Antonio Pigafetta, who was on Magellan's voyage, that we now know so much of what the armada faced, achieved and perpetrated.

Five ships were built in Seville - four carracks and one caravel, to journey west in search of a strait into the Pacific Ocean and path to the Spice Islands. They set off down the river from Seville to Sanlúcar, stocked up and set off, just as Magellan's hero Christopher Columbus had done 20 years earlier on his third voyage to the New World.



Chronicler Pigafetta was a Magellan loyalist through the voyage



Allegory on the travels of Ferdinand Magellan by Theodor de Bry



Ferdinand Magellan wanted to emulate his hero Christopher Columbus



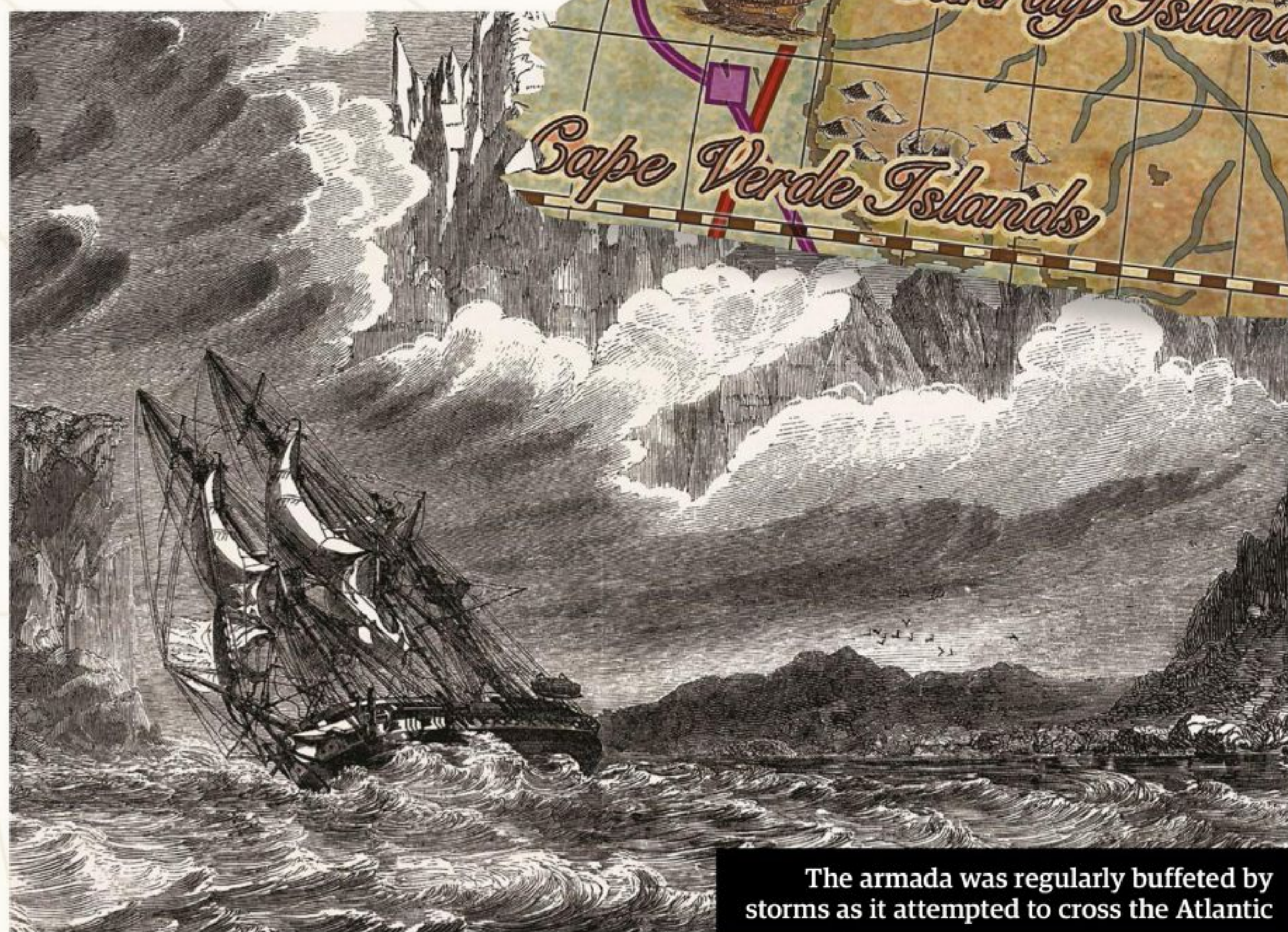
## Dark Origins

Dates: **26 September 1519**

Locations: **Canary Islands**

The Casa de Contratación (House of Trade), which held jurisdiction on all expeditions out of Spain, didn't trust the Portuguese Magellan and positioned its own people among his crew. Juan de Cartagena, illegitimate son of the head of the Casa de Contratación, began to lead talk of mutiny very early on in their journey.

Magellan also got word that Manuel I had sent out a fleet to hunt down and arrest him. For the early part of the expedition the explorer would sail under the dual shadows of Spanish revolt and Portuguese revenge. His standing among the crew may not have been aided by his prosecution of boatswain Antonio Salomon on charges of sodomy with a cabin boy, Antonio Ginovés, for which he was sentenced to death by strangulation. Sodomy was illegal at the time, but such activities at sea were common and typically overlooked. A meeting afterwards saw Cartagena challenge Magellan's choice of route. Cartagena refused to take Magellan's commands henceforth, but his co-conspirators hesitated to support him and he was arrested and relieved of his command by Magellan.



The armada was regularly buffeted by storms as it attempted to cross the Atlantic

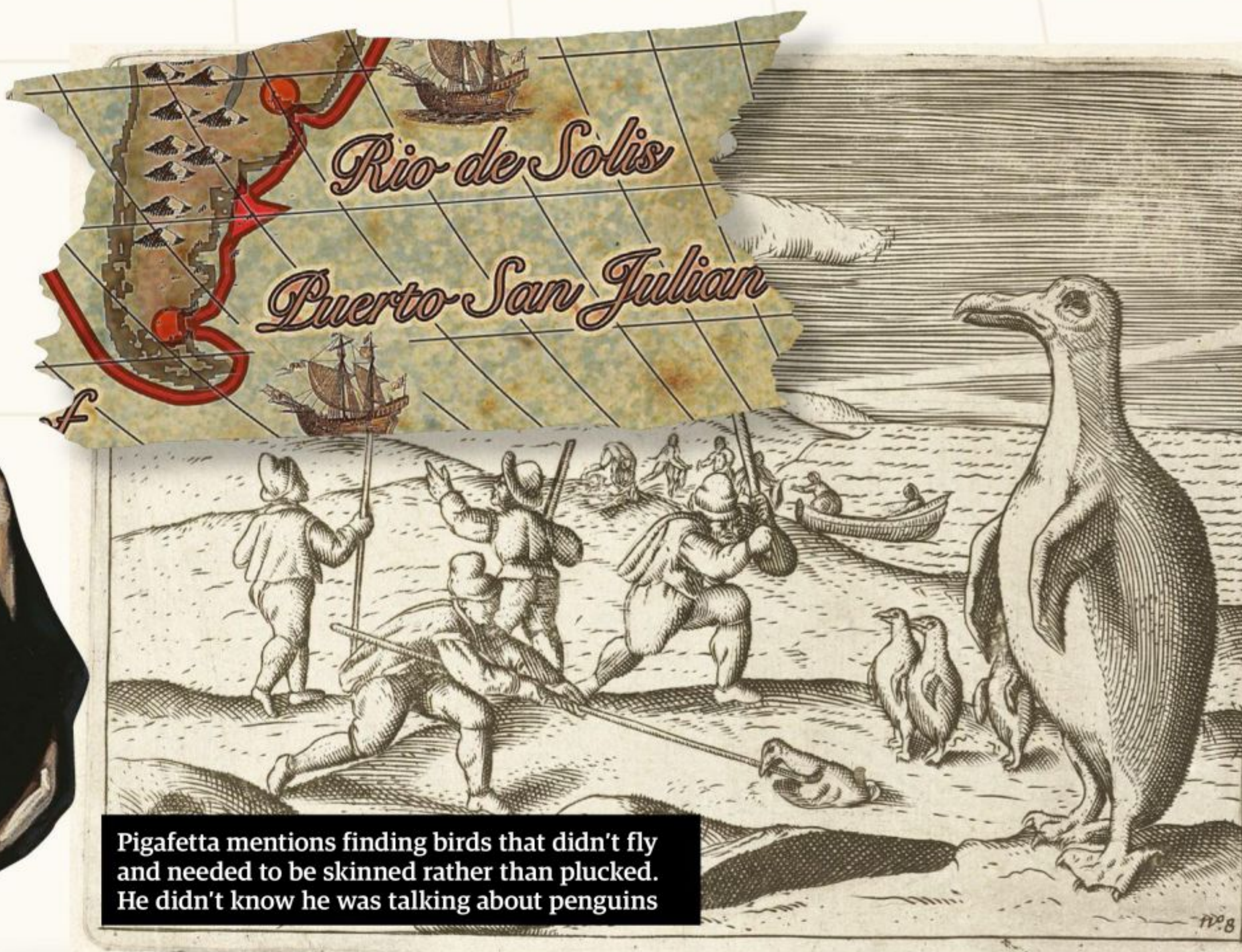
## The Hunt for the Strait

Dates: **13 December 1519 - 31 March 1520**

Locations: **Rio de Janeiro Bay (Brazil),  
Puerto San Julian (Argentina)**

Having finally turned west, away from the coast of Africa, the armada made its way across the Atlantic, finally reaching South America around late November. Arriving at Santa Lucia Bay, Rio de Janeiro, the local Guarani people welcomed the fleet. The armada had strict instructions regarding interactions with native peoples from Charles I himself. The crew was forbidden from sexual activity with women, firearms were not to be discharged and locals should be treated kindly. All rules would be broken in the coming months.

While they rested and re-stocked here for some time, the need to press forward became more urgent as they realised they didn't have enough supplies. Continuing down the coast of South America, they were battered by storms before finally seeking shelter in Puerto San Julian. The crew were put on rations, which likely increased discontent after a rather harrowing journey thus far. Still, having passed the equator, this location, abundant with fish, was chosen as a shelter for the winter to pass.



Pigafetta mentions finding birds that didn't fly and needed to be skinned rather than plucked. He didn't know he was talking about penguins

## A World Divided

A quick guide to the Treaty of Tordesillas

### What was the Treaty of Tordesillas?

This document divided up the globe in 1494 between the superpowers of the day, Spain and Portugal. The line of demarcation, or meridian, ran 370 leagues (1,200 miles) west of the Cape Verde islands. The intention of this document was to end disputes between the nations after the discovery of the New World had challenged previous agreements.

### What belonged to Portugal?

Everything east of the demarcation line was the domain of Portugal, which at this time was mainly

concentrated around the Southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and Portugal was free to claim any lands it conquered there.

### What belonged to Spain?

Spain had control of everything to the west of the demarcation line, which included much of the West Atlantic as well as all of North and Central America and most of South America. It was also assumed that anything further west was also Spain's, although this didn't take into account the spherical nature of the planet.

### Were the Spice Islands in Spanish waters?

While Magellan's voyage proved that the Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines could be reached by travelling west and as such were west of the demarcation line, he also inadvertently proved they were within Portuguese territory (a fact that was somewhat disguised at the time). A new treaty had to be drawn up, the Treaty of Zaragoza, to determine an anti-meridian at which time Spain relinquished its claim over the Moluccas for 350,000 ducats (approx. £43 million by modern gold values).





# The First Circumnavigator?

## The life of Enrique of Malacca

Known as Enrique de Malaca in Spanish, Henrique de Malaca in Portuguese and Panglima Awang in Malay, the man most commonly known as Enrique of Malacca was taken as a slave by Ferdinand Magellan in one of his many visits to the Spice Islands around 1511, at the age of 14. He was the only slave aboard the Armada de Molucca and acted as a translator, predominantly in the Pacific isles once they had managed to find the Strait of Magellan.

Having travelled west with Magellan as a boy and returning from the east a decade later, it seems reasonable to state that Enrique rather than any of the

rest of the crew of the armada was the first person to successfully circumnavigate the globe. He didn't do it by choice or as a free man, but he was an active part of the mission all the same.

After Magellan's death and the betrayal of his promise that Enrique would be freed should he die, Enrique conspired with the people of Cebu to gain his freedom by having the commanders of the fleet killed. What happened to him after this is unknown, but if he did travel home to Malacca, as is assumed, the further 1,550-mile journey from Cebu would have completed the historic journey.

## Mutiny and Discovery

**Dates: 1 April - 28 November 1520**

**Locations: Puerto San Julian (Argentina), Strait Of Magellan (Chile)**

Cartagena, although arrested for mutiny, had been given permission to walk freely aboard the Victoria, one of the larger of the five ships, and in so doing continued to be a lightning rod for rebellion among the crew. Once again accusing Magellan of recklessness, he was this time backed up by the captains of the Victoria, San Antonio and Concepcion, leaving Magellan with only two loyal ships out of five. Magellan then attempted to take back control of the situation, sending loyal men to reclaim the Victoria, which led to its captain, Luis de Mendoza, being stabbed in the throat and killed. With the balance of power shifted so quickly, Gaspar de Quesada, captain of the Concepcion, attempted to flee, but was caught, while Cartagena surrendered.

In the subsequent trial Quesada was beheaded and his body drawn and quartered along with that of Mendoza. Cartagena was marooned at Puerto San Julian, along with a priest named Sanchez de Reina who was found guilty. Their lives were likely spared in anticipation of the fallout executing them might have led to if the armada returned to Spain. Another 40 sailors were found guilty and demoted to menial work aboard the ships, including Master Elcano who had been with the mutineers.

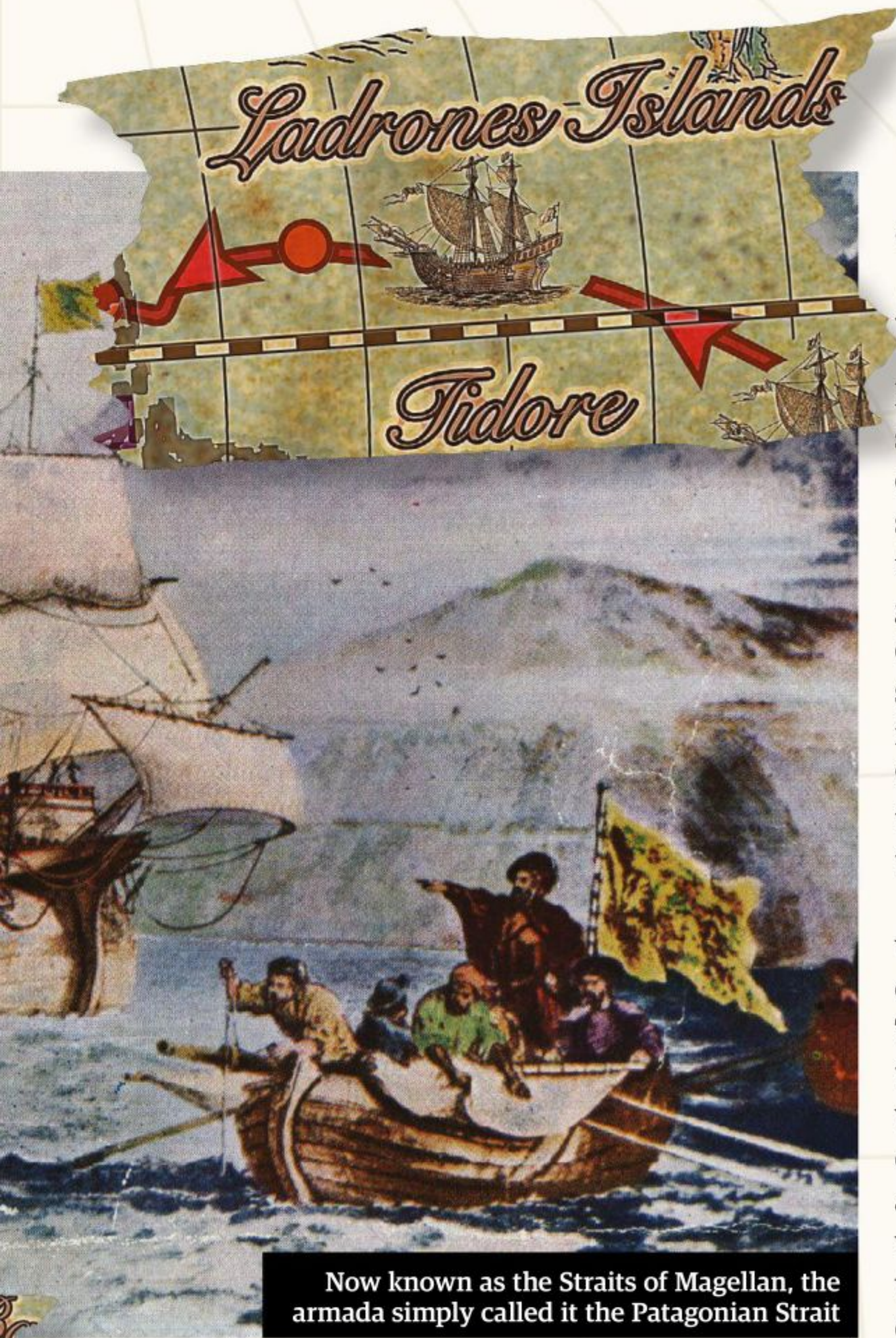
Despite winter still being upon them, the need to find the strait remained dire so the small caravel, the Santiago, was sent out to explore the coast in July. While they found a better shelter in Santa Cruz, the ship ran aground on the journey back and was lost. Most if not all of the crew miraculously survived and two of them managed to walk through the mountains for 11 days back to the armada to send a rescue party. The armada held in Santa Cruz until October but around 21

October the Concepcion and San Antonio were swept into a bay in yet more storms that turned out to be a strait to the Pacific. The waterway was complex and at some point they lost sight of the San Antonio. Whether it accidentally lost the armada or was another mutiny is unclear, but the ship actually turned around and headed back to Spain. The other three ships reached the Pacific by 28 November.



While the ringleaders were killed or exiled, the other mutineers were spared





## Welcome to the Pacific

Dates: **6 March - 28 March 1521** Locations: **Guam, Philippines**

Having survived the choppy waters and intense storms of the southern Atlantic, the open ocean of the Pacific might have seemed like a relief save for the fact it was significantly more vast than anyone at the time imagined. The crew had greatly underestimated the supplies needed to cross it successfully and as a result outbreaks of scurvy (the result of a lack of vitamin C, usually found in fruit) killed at least 29 of the crew in the 98 days before their first landfall. This was already the furthest any expedition had been recorded travelling in history.

That first sighting of land would be Guam, where the Chamorro people aboard their own outrigger boats - proas - greeted the armada. These double-hulled boats were unknown to those on the Spanish ships. Unfortunately, this would be a contentious first encounter, as having a different concept of property, the Chamorro came aboard the ships and began taking any items they wanted. Confrontations followed, but some trading was finally established until Magellan's personal dinghy was taken, which he took as a personal

affront. Magellan ordered his men to burn their village in response, destroying 40-50 houses and killing seven men.

A change of approach appears to have been adopted in the following weeks as the crew landed at Suluan, Homonhon and Limasawa, with more caution and a newfound zeal for converting those they met to Christianity. By firing off their guns and with displays of their armour in mock battles, Magellan would often intimidate his hosts as a means of warning them off attack. The chronicler Pigafetta reports much more genial encounters for this stretch of the trip, with the king of Limasawa, Kolambu, even making a blood compact with Magellan. It was also here that Enrique de Malaca, a slave that Magellan had taken from the East in the years previous to this voyage, was able to speak with the locals in their native Malay. Assuming this was close to his original birthplace, this would make him the first circumnavigator having circled the world to return home, albeit having been stolen from there and then forced to travel back again.

## The Death of Magellan

Dates: **7 April - 27 April 1521**

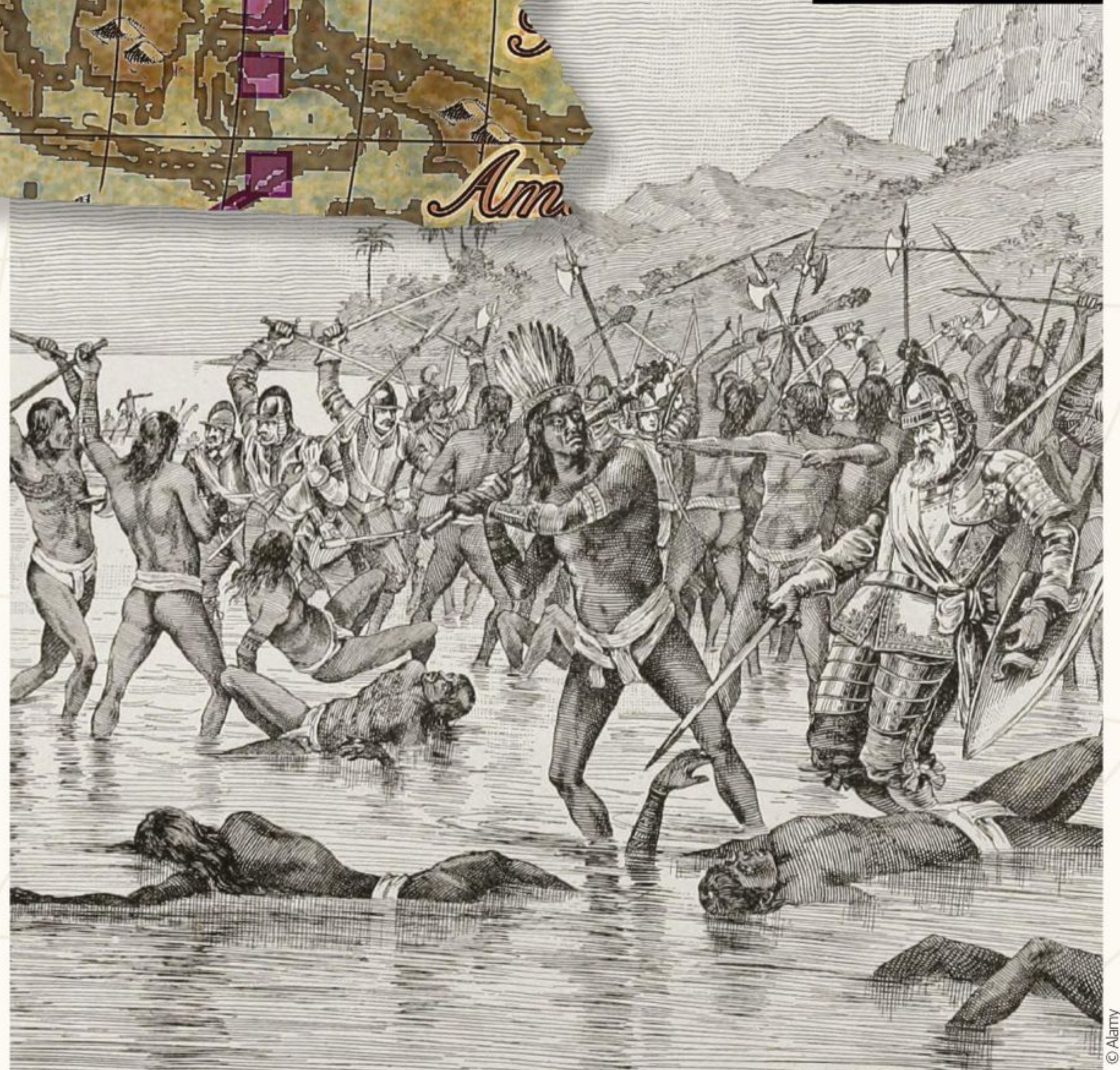
Locations: **Cebu, Mactan**

As the Armada de Molucca travelled it became both more adept at ingratiating itself with the local communities, but also more embroiled in the local politics. When it arrived at Cebu, Magellan met its leader Humabon and another blood pact was made. At this stage using a mixture of threats and generosity, Magellan's voyage was turning into something more akin to a crusade, and it's estimated he led the conversion of 2,200 Cebuans. However, in return for their hospitality Magellan promised to ally with Humabon against his enemies, which turned their attention to Mactan and its leader, Lapu-Lapu.

Magellan used Lapu-Lapu's refusal to convert as a pretext for conflict, but the crew of the armada pleaded that this was not the mission Charles I had sent them on. Ignoring this counsel, he led 60 armoured men to Mactan, accompanied by some Cebu warriors who were told only to observe and witness the fighting prowess of the Europeans. The landscape was not in their favour, however, as the tide was out, meaning a long distance between their landing boats and the tree line as well as their own fleet being out of range to support them. Lapu-Lapu, on the other hand, had 1,500 men to send against the foreign invaders and their overwhelming numbers and terrain meant the Europeans were roundly beaten. Aiming for the legs, which had little armour, the Mactanese used poison arrows, catching Magellan himself. As he commanded retreat the Cebu warriors came to the aid of his men, helping them reach their ships, but Magellan was cut down and left behind. So it was the Captain General of the Armada de Molucca was killed and Lapu-Lapu became a local hero, even to this day, for his resistance to foreign power.

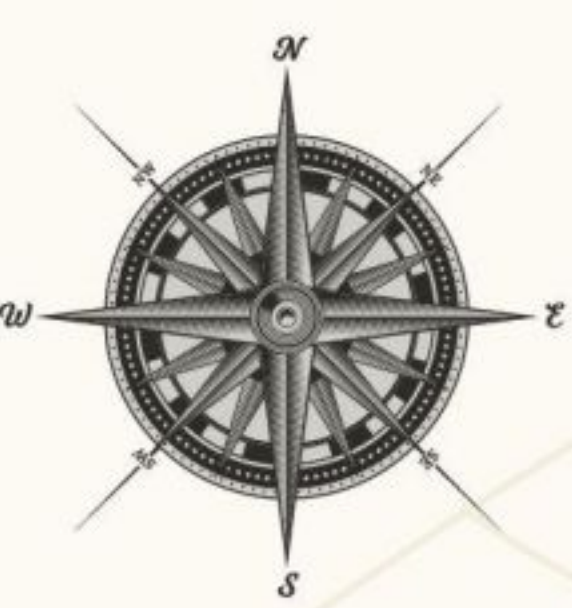


Magellan was greatly outnumbered as he attempted to show off superior European armour and weapons at the Battle of Mactan



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## *A Bloody Banquet*

**Dates: 28 April - 1 May 1521**

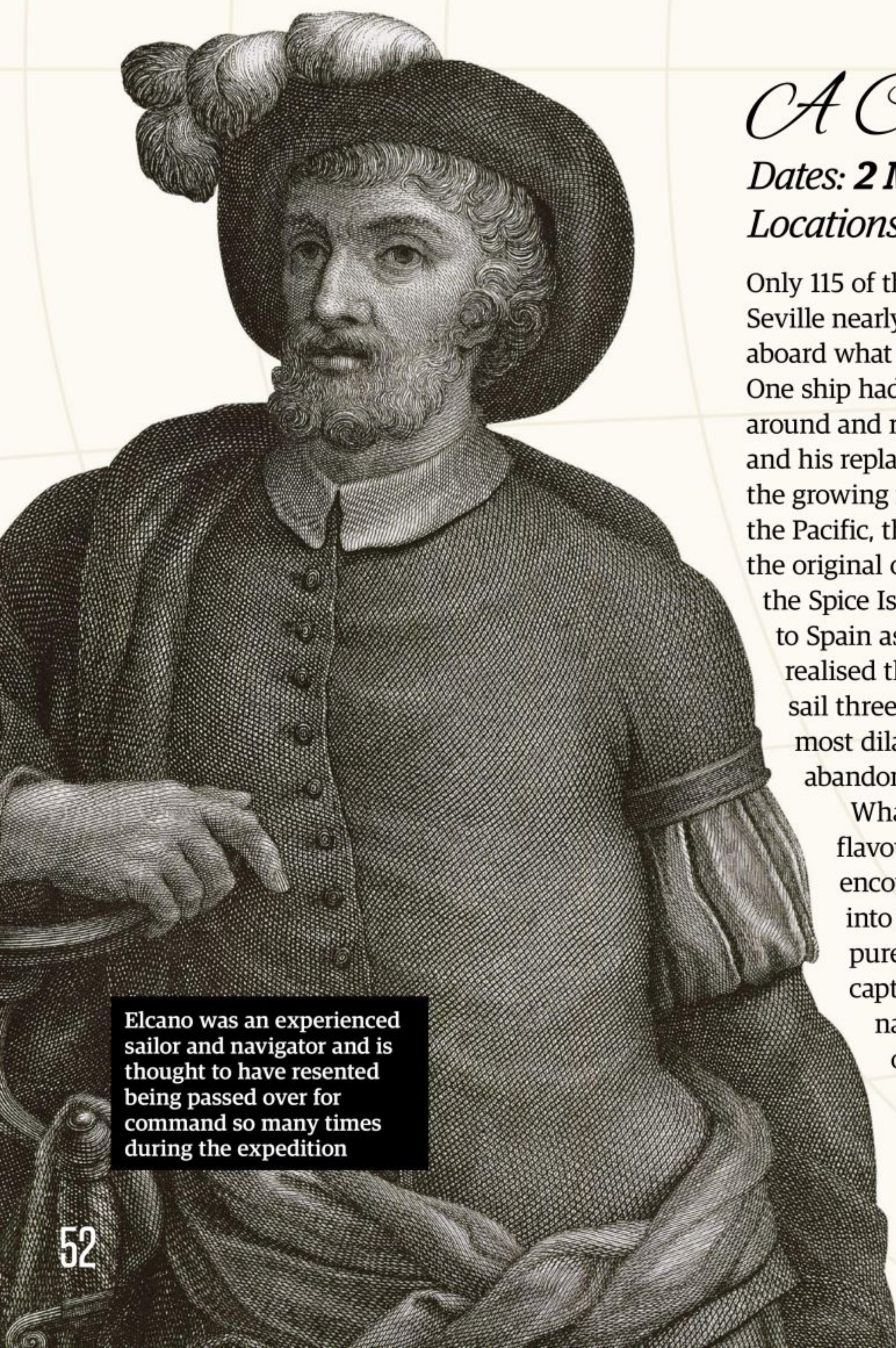
**Locations: Cebu**

With their Captain General dead on the beaches of Mactan, what remained of the crew elected new leadership, ending up with a co-captaincy shared between Portuguese and Spanish representatives. Magellan's brother-in-law Duarte Barbosa shared leadership with the Santiago's captain, Juan Rodriquez Serrano.

One of their first decisions as commanders would ultimately also contribute to their downfall. Magellan had left instructions that Enrique de Malaca, his slave of many years, should be freed upon his death, but Barbosa and Serrano refused to honour that directive. Presumably they wanted Enrique to continue translating for them as they navigated the rest of the Philippines towards Indonesia and Malaysia, but the way it's recorded is that they insisted he had to return to Spain and remain in the service of Magellan's widow, Beatriz Barbosa. Pigafetta reports that he refused to leave the ship, having been wounded in the battle alongside Magellan, but Barbosa threatened to have him flogged. Enrique didn't take long to seek his revenge and freedom.



As Pigafetta tells it, Enrique conversed with Humabon and explained that the king could capture all of the goods and treasures aboard the armada if they worked together. The newly elected captains were subsequently invited to a banquet by the local king. Thirty men, mostly officers, attended and as the meal came to a close, armed Cebuans surrounded them and attacked, killing 27. Having seen Magellan defeated by his local rival, Humabon's move, while duplicitous in its own right, could well have been an attempt to save face locally and maintain loyalty among his own people. Serrano was kept alive to be ransomed, but after the remaining crew, lead by João Lopes Carvalho, realised the Cebuans were just asking for more and more guns and the likely outcome was clear, they sailed away leaving their newly appointed captain behind, presumably to die.



Elcano was an experienced sailor and navigator and is thought to have resented being passed over for command so many times during the expedition

## *A Crew Depleted*

**Dates: 2 May - 9 July 1521**

**Locations: Philippines, Brunei, Spain**

Only 115 of the crew who originally set out from Seville nearly two years previously were still aboard what was left of the Armada de Molucca. One ship had been lost at sea, the other turned around and returned to Spain. With Magellan and his replacements still recently deceased and the growing realisation of the brutality of life in the Pacific, the focus was placed firmly back on the original objective of this mission: to reach the Spice Islands, load up on cloves and return to Spain as rich men. However, they quickly realised they didn't have enough men to sail three ships and so the Concepcion, the most dilapidated and worm-infested, was abandoned and burned at sea.

What followed was a very different flavour of seafaring, with violent encounters with local boats descending into piracy and all other landings being purely transactional. Local pilots were captured from other ships to help them navigate the complex series of islands, often taking them in opposite directions to their own home ports, although this did allow for continued stocking up of supplies.



Meanwhile there was still one more armada ship at sea and it finally arrived back in Seville on 6 May 1521. The San Antonia, which had lost contact with the rest of the fleet, on purpose or otherwise, had been sailing alone for over six months, had no knowledge of what had become of their comrades, but did know that the strait to the Pacific had been found. Despite this discovery, the crew appears to have wasted no time in recounting the brutal leadership of Magellan, accusing him of betraying or plotting to betray Spain for his native Portugal and justifying their roles, where applicable, in the mutinies among the ships. Their words seem to have had an impact as Magellan's family were placed under house arrest as a result.





The signing of the Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal, 7 June 1494

## The Spice Islands

Dates: **21 September 1521 - 6 April 1522**

Locations: **Brunei, Malacca**

Carvalho's time in leadership was a contentious period, with more confrontations and challenges to his leadership from an increasingly weary and disgruntled crew. During their stops he had taken aboard prisoners to present to Charles I, among them three women who he then kept as his personal harem aboard the Trinidad. Unsurprisingly, this didn't go over well with the crew. Previously, Magellan had permitted no slaves, except for Enrique, to be aboard the armada, and no women either. Carvalho was asked to step down, replaced by Martin Mendez, with Gonzalo de Espinosa captaining the Trinidad and Juan Sabastián Elcano leading the Victoria. As the only experienced navigator, Elcano held the most sway going forward.

It was under his guidance that the armada finally reached the Moluccas around 8 November 1521 where they were welcomed by local leader Al-Mansur. He had his own reasons for inviting new foreign trade since he refused to submit to Portuguese demands for a monopoly in the region. It was also here that the rest of the crew learned the



Portuguese had been looking for them since they left Spain two years ago. A trading post was established and the two remaining ships were loaded up with as many goods as they could hold, mostly cloves. However, as the ships prepared to depart in December the Trinidad began taking on water. It was decided that half the crew would remain with the flagship while it was repaired and the Victoria would sail alone back to Spain heading west. The Trinidad, meanwhile, would head east, when ready, to the Americas and seek transport over land for its cargo before returning to Spain via the Atlantic.

However, when the Trinidad finally did begin its journey it was caught in more storms, its crew afflicted with scurvy and 30 men were lost. Turning back to Tidore, they found the Portuguese there waiting for them. The Trinidad was stripped and left to be torn apart by storms.

## One Ship Returns

Dates: **21 December 1521**

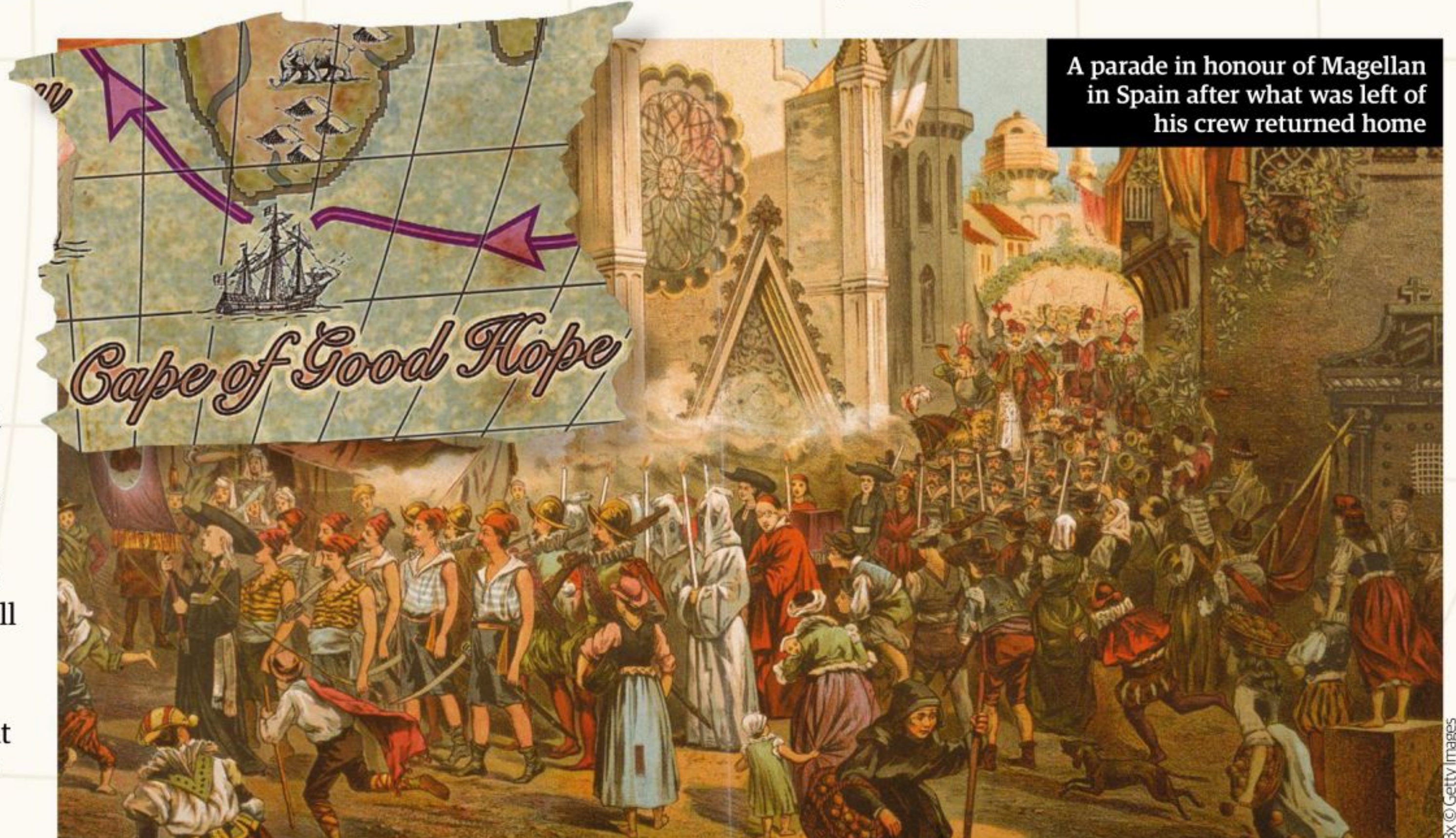
- **8 September 1522**

Locations: **The Moluccas, Cape of Good Hope, Seville**

Juan Sebastián Elcano headed out into the Indian Ocean aiming to round the Cape of Good Hope and return to Spain. It was a risky journey, but no other options were available. Many of the crew refused to make the journey and chose instead to wait on the Trinidad, which didn't turn out so well either. Sixty-three men remained on the Victoria, which was in a state of some disrepair. Whatever noble purpose the Armada de Molucca had set out with had long since been set aside. This was now about survival, about getting home.

The long journey west would see them hit the Cape around 6 May, although due to storms and the dangers of safely navigating these waters it took until 22 May to safely reach the western coast of the continent. In that time, unable to resupply, scurvy had once again struck the crew and 21 men lost their lives.

They stopped at Cape Verde islands, which was Portuguese controlled. Finally having had enough of the Victoria, many of the crew appear to have requested asylum with Portugal by revealing the ship's mission, only then to be held prisoner. So it



A parade in honour of Magellan in Spain after what was left of his crew returned home

was that only 22 remained when Victoria left the island on 15 July, unwilling to give up the ship to bail out their crewmates.

Finally, on 6 September 1522, the Victoria arrived at Sanlúcar and then went a little further to Seville on 8 September. The ship was in such bad shape the crew was still pumping water out of the hull as it moved up the river. Only 18 crew members still remained and while the expedition still managed to turn a profit with the cargo of just one ship, the crew still did penance, having been

chastened and humbled by their experience. They had travelled 37,560 miles and proved the world to be both round and much larger than was thought. They had dispelled the common seafaring myths of mermaids and boiling oceans, but had found storms and human cruelty equally as terrifying. Still they came home rich and Elcano, having completed the journey that Magellan started, received a knighthood, pension and royal pardon for his part in the mutiny as well as having his name go down in history.









# Daughters of the Storm

*Despite being officially excluded from political life, women were inspired by the events of 1789 French Revolution and keen to involve themselves as much as possible*

Written by Melanie Clegg



**A**lthough the male politicians and activists of the French Revolution undoubtedly dominate history books, it is impossible to deny the important contribution that women made to the period, despite being effectively excluded from official political influence. As the Anglo-Irish writer Maria Edgeworth wrote: 'The women have certainly had a considerable share in the French Revolution: for, whatever the imperious lords of the creation may fancy, the most important events which take place in this world depend a little on our influence; and we often act in human affairs like those secret springs in mechanism, by which, though invisible, great movements are regulated.' Indeed, to an almost unprecedented degree, women were highly visible during many of the most significant events of the Revolution and in several cases, were the primary instigators. One of the main reasons for the unusually high involvement of women was the fact that although women were not encouraged to involve themselves in politics at an official level, they had been politically active behind the scenes for centuries, while political and intellectual circles, notably in Paris and to a lesser extent Versailles, had been orchestrated and in some instances dominated by women, notably the salon hostesses who welcomed philosophers, politicians, scientists and other academics to their homes and by doing so subtly directed the intellectual and political activities of the entire nation. It's no surprise therefore that when the Bastille fell and the National Constituent Assembly was formed in July 1789, French women, who had been accustomed to acting behind the scenes for

centuries, were keen to get involved and benefit as much as possible from the new social changes that the upheaval promised to bring.

However, if women had expected greater equality, particularly when the Declaration of the Rights of Man was published in August 1789, they were to be sorely disappointed, for the new government made it clear that active citizenship of France, the right to vote and hold political office, was to be granted only to men over the age of 25 who could not be defined as servants and whose annual tax bill was equivalent to payment for three days' work. In contrast, women, who amounted to half of the adult population would be no better off than they had been before and were, regardless of economic or social status, considered to be passive citizens and therefore legally equivalent to children and servants. Nonetheless, although they might have been officially deemed to be passive, many women were determined to be quite the opposite, believing that this was their opportunity to actively improve their conditions, either by placing themselves in positions of influence or by employing activism to further their cause and make the plight of women more visible. While the men were beginning to join political clubs such as the Jacobins, Feuillants and the Cordeliers, women, who were excluded from these societies, were flocking to their own clubs, where they could offer each other support as well as discussing the issues and current affairs of the day. One such club, the Society of the Friends of the Law, was set up by Théroigne de Méricourt, an eccentric former courtesan with republican sympathies, who was a familiar sight at political meetings, which she attended dressed in a man's

**“Woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum”**

riding outfit and hat. Frustrated by their exclusion from the nation's political system, some women decided to protest, either by directly addressing the Assembly, where they were frequently mocked and derided, or, in the case of the writer Olympe de Gouges, putting pen to paper in September 1791 to write a Declaration of the Rights of Women and of the Female Citizen, which was a direct challenge to the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man, which had effectively ignored the very existence of the female population. As far as Olympe and other women were concerned, the insulting and obviously deliberate rejection of a golden opportunity to rectify the many injustices that women had endured for centuries was nothing less than a cruel joke, especially as the Declaration of the Rights of Men was being touted everywhere as a radical call for universal liberty. But how could it be truly considered so, the women asked, if well over half of the adult population was excluded?

However, for most of the women in France, many of whom were illiterate, this polite form of protest was not an option and they found themselves forced to take direct action. When the Bastille fell in July 1789, women were in the thick of the fighting, risking their lives alongside the men and when, in October of that year, shortages of bread in the capital caused unrest, it was the women of the working class Parisian districts who armed themselves and marched in their thousands to Versailles with the ultimate goal of bringing Louis XVI and his family back to Paris. The outspoken market women of Paris had enjoyed a special status for centuries, possessing a vocal freedom that was not accorded to many in France and consequently building a reputation for saying whatever they pleased to the Bourbon rulers of the country. Although Louis and his wife Marie Antoinette had been enormously popular at the very beginning of their reign, relations between the royal couple and the market women had soured over the years, with the queen being particularly discomforted by their loudly reprovving behaviour, particularly during the long years that had passed before she had given birth to her first child. In the past, the Parisian women's verbally aggressive behaviour had been significantly tempered by a genuine affection for the king, their 'good little father', but in the wake of the Bastille's fall they had become increasingly confident and as they marched on the palace they openly called for the queen's death. Although the fall of the

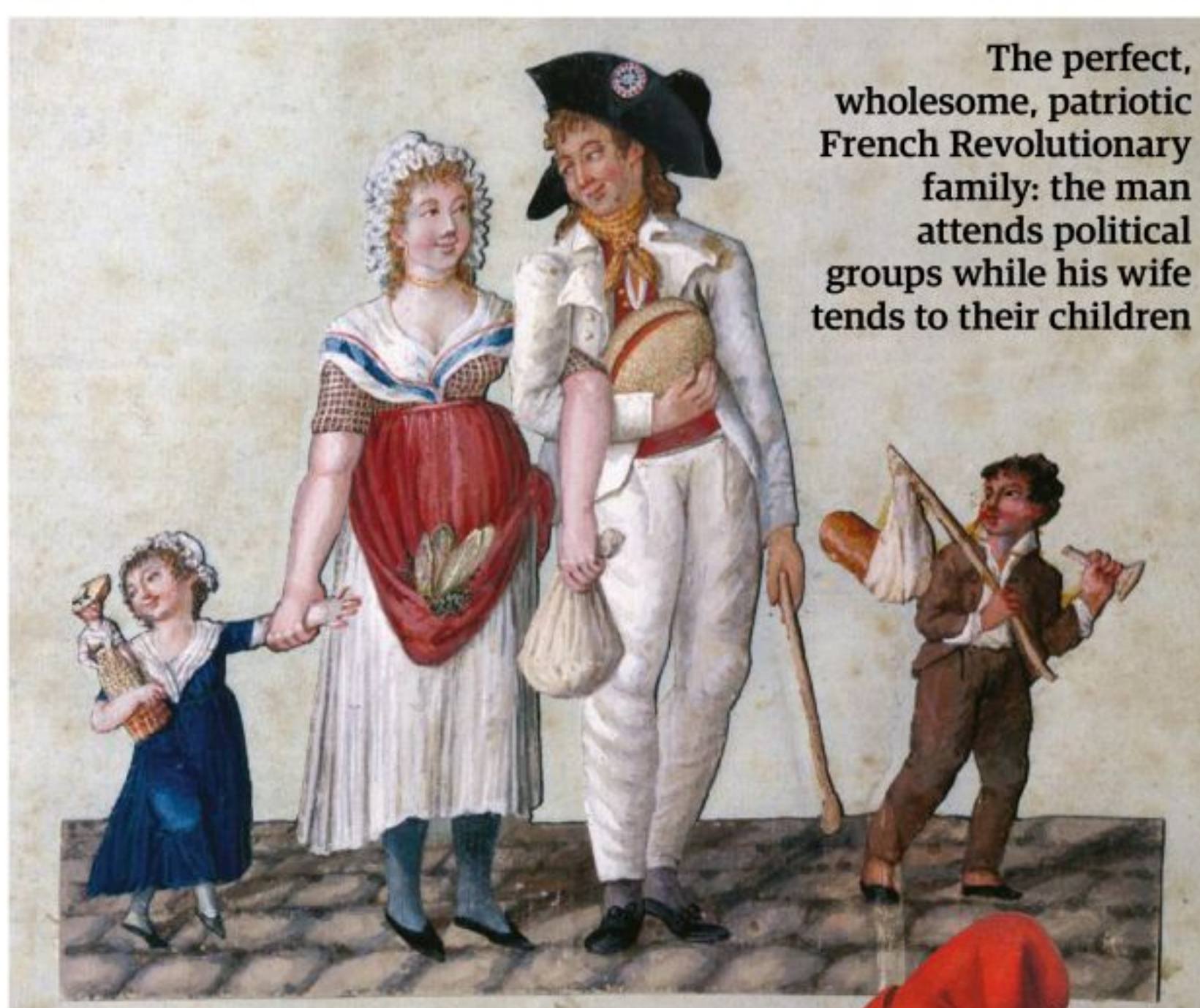
French women wielding scythes and banging drums march on the palace of Versailles on 5 October 1789





Bastille is regarded by many as the beginning of the French Revolution, the women's march on Versailles marks a significant turning point in the relationship between the French people and the monarchy while the unprecedented violence and savagery that occurred once the mob had gained access to the palace would often be replicated over the next few years, most notably during the assault on the Tuileries Palace in 1792 and the subsequent widespread murder of prison inmates throughout the capital, and would set in motion the escalating tensions between the different classes that would ultimately lead to the Terror.

While many women naturally sympathised with the more moderate and progressive ideologies of the French Revolution, such as those espoused by the Girondin party, others, particularly those from the working class, were drawn to the much more hardline Cordelier and Jacobin clubs, whose most prominent and politically active members, Danton and Robespierre, both of whom were part of the Montagnard political group, were idolised by the notoriously partisan market women of Paris. While the Girondins shied away from violence, their political opponents the Montagnards saw it as an unpleasant but occasionally necessary means to an end and when they eventually seized power, they would show a marked relish for the violent suppression of political opponents and anyone else that they viewed as an enemy of the state. For French women who were feeling increasingly cheated and disenfranchised as the early promise of full equality that the events of 1789 appeared to augur failed to materialise, the ground roots activism and opportunity to get involved that the Montagnards seemed to offer was highly appealing. For the young actress Rose Lacombe and her friend Pauline Léon, both of whom were involved with the more radical elements of the Cordeliers club, the early years of the Revolution afforded them an opportunity to fight for more equal rights for women, which would ultimately lead them to become the founding members of their own club, the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, in May 1793. Although many men were sympathetic to the Society's aims and they always heavily and vocally supported Montagnard policies, Lacombe and Léon often found themselves up against stiff opposition as they sought to increase the participation of women in the Revolution, most notably when they unsuccessfully petitioned for women to be granted permission to carry arms and form their own militia groups to protect their neighbourhoods from attack. When the Revolution increased in ferocity after the Montagnards violently suppressed the Girondins and took complete control of the government in the summer of 1793, the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women and other women's clubs would quickly find themselves first shunned and then ordered to disband as the authorities became ever more suspicious of their radical ideologies



## Olympe de Gouges (1748-1793)

**Women's rights campaigner Olympe de Gouges penned her own feminist manifesto in 1791**

After escaping from an unhappy marriage, Olympe de Gouges, who was born Marie Gouze in 1748, embarked on a new life as a writer and playwright in Paris, producing numerous books, pamphlets and plays in the years before the Revolution. Like many women she hoped that the events of 1789 would result in increased rights for women and was disappointed when they seemed to be no better off than they were before the Revolution, as evidenced by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, which effectively ignored women. Olympe wrote her own response, the Declaration of the Rights of Women and of the Female Citizen in 1791 and controversially dedicated it to Marie Antoinette. In her pamphlet, Olympe directly addresses men, asking them why they feel the need to oppress women and then setting out her reasons why all of society would benefit from complete equality of the sexes. The response to Olympe's Declaration was hostile, especially in the upper echelons of the new regime, although she would not be arrested until the Jacobin purges of summer 1793, targeted as a result of what they believed to be seditious activities. Undaunted, Olympe continued to write while imprisoned, producing a summary of her own defence and also a condemnation of the Terror. She was guillotined in November 1793.





and also keen to discourage women from actively involving themselves in politics. When the politician Chaumette called for the dissolution of the women's clubs in September 1793, he echoed the views of many men when he declared that as a good citizen of France, he had every right to expect his wife to tend to the home and look after their children while he got on with the important business of attending political meetings and taking care of the country, suggesting that any woman who neglected her duties in order to involve herself in politics was going against the natural order of things and could even by extension be considered an enemy of the state as she actively worked against gender roles and undermined the wholesome family life that was considered to be a cornerstone of the new fairer, purer France.

For a lot of people in France, no one served as more of a warning of the terrible consequences that could ensue when a woman appeared to reject her traditional role, involve herself in affairs that did not concern her and place her own self interest above that of her husband, family and country, than the universally detested queen, Marie Antoinette. The infamous Parisian market women's extreme loathing of Marie Antoinette reflected a widespread dislike of the foreign born queen, who was distrusted and criticised by all levels of society, while her perceived ignorance, frivolity, untrustworthiness and moral iniquity, all of which were generally regarded to be typically feminine failings, were employed as excuses to exclude other women from political life. For Madame Roland, whose husband became Minister of the Interior in 1792, Marie Antoinette epitomised everything that was wrong with the old regime and she would harshly criticise her several times in her writing. Highly intelligent and well educated, Madame Roland would have made an excellent politician - however, as her

Wearing her trademark masculine riding habit and feathered hat, Théroigne de Méricourt was a familiar sight in Revolutionary Paris although she would pay dearly for calling attention to herself



## Manon Roland de la Platière (1754-1793)

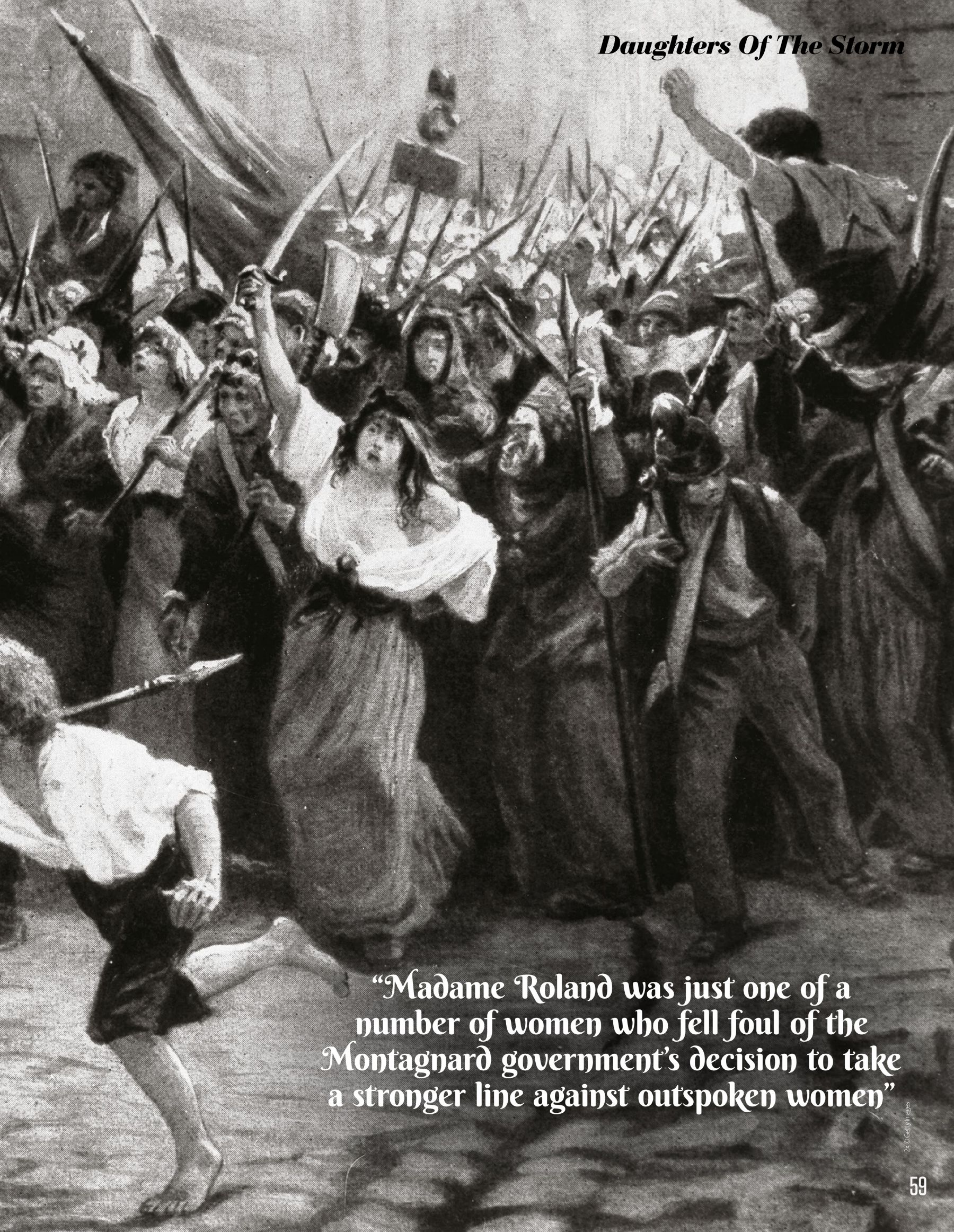
Excluded from politics by her gender, Madame Roland sought to influence events through her husband - and paid the ultimate price

Born into a prosperous middle class family in 1754, Marie-Jeanne Phlipon, who was always known as 'Manon', was a born and bred Parisian. When it was discovered that she possessed remarkable intelligence for her age, her parents did all that they could to ensure that she had the best education possible. As a teenager, Manon visited a relative in Versailles where she saw Marie Antoinette and witnessed first hand the privileged and frivolous behaviour of the court, which, coupled with her study of contemporary philosophers such as Rousseau and Voltaire, left her with a complete disgust for the aristocracy, whom she perceived to be corrupt and ignorant. In 1780, she married the wealthy bureaucrat Jean-Marie Roland de la Platière, who was 20 years her senior

and gave birth to their only child, Eudora, a year later. For the next nine years, Manon's life was quietly domestic, until the events of 1789 awakened a desire to get involved with events in Paris. To this end, she encouraged her husband to participate in politics and would use his position to become a well known female political hostess. However, thanks to their alignment with the moderate Girondin faction, both she and her husband would fall foul of the dominant and more radical Jacobins, who particularly detested Manon as they viewed her as domineering and unwomanly. She was arrested in June 1793 and after a brief trial sentenced to death. As she mounted the guillotine's scaffold, she turned to the statue of Liberty that stood alongside and said, "Oh Liberty, what crimes are committed in your name."







**“Madame Roland was just one of a number of women who fell foul of the Montagnard government’s decision to take a stronger line against outspoken women”**





gender excluded her from taking any official role, she instead channelled her energies into promoting her husband's career, furthering the interests of the Girondin party and building her influence by becoming a political hostess and entertaining intellectuals and members of all political groups in her home, where she made a point of silently listening to the debates without actually participating. Nonetheless, Madame Roland's careful policy of never being actually seen to explicitly involve herself in politics, either by publishing her writings or speaking in public, would not save her when she was accused in 1793 of meddling in political matters and consequently executed in November of that year. "I followed the progress of the Revolution with interest, I spoke of public matters with enthusiasm, but I did not overstep the limits imposed upon me by my sex," she claimed, ultimately in vain. Madame Roland was just one of a number of women who fell foul of the Montagnard government's decision to take a stronger line against outspoken women - Olympe de Gouges would also be executed in the same month while many others, like Claire Lacombe and Pauline Léon, were imprisoned and effectively silenced. Meanwhile, Théroigne de Méricourt would be physically attacked and beaten by a group of market women in May 1793, which precipitated a mental decline that would ultimately result in her being declared insane and institutionalised in the autumn of 1794. Although the revolutionary leaders had always been dismissive of women's issues, this attitude hardened into outright hostility in the summer of 1793 under the aegis of the Jacobins, inflamed by the assassination of Marat by the Girondin supporter Charlotte Corday in July.

Although Charlotte Corday acted entirely alone, her murder of Marat would have serious repercussions for other women, particularly those who were involved in politics and activism, who now found themselves under increasingly negative scrutiny from the state. Although women had placed themselves in the forefront of many of the Revolution's events, their presence had always been tolerated rather than encouraged, especially as the political atmosphere became increasingly patriarchal as a response to the Revolutionary wars with Austria, Prussia and Britain, which reinforced the idea of men being the heroic defenders of the fatherland while the duty of women revolved around raising the next generation of patriotic citizens willing to fight and die for their country. When Charlotte Corday, a well brought up middle class young woman, stabbed Marat in his bath, she dramatically defied the constraints traditionally imposed upon her gender and class, with the result that she was judged more harshly than a male assassin might have been, simply because as a woman, her act was considered all the more shocking and unnatural. Many of Marat's colleagues simply could not believe that a respectable young woman like Corday had acted



Marie Antoinette, the last queen of France, was executed in 1793



Lucile Desmoulins, the wife of revolutionary Camille Desmoulins



Theresa Tallien was married to political figure Jean-Lambert Tallien



Charlotte Corday's murder of Marat in July 1793 was considered so shocking that Revolutionary leaders refused to believe that she had acted alone and without any male involvement

completely alone and with such decisiveness and were horrified when repeated interrogations failed to identify any male co-conspirators who might have shouldered the blame for her radicalisation. After her execution, they even felt compelled to have her body examined for evidence that she had been sexually active and therefore by implication perhaps fallen under the influence of a hitherto unidentified male lover who had groomed her to become an assassin - only to be disappointed when it was discovered that she was still a virgin.

When Olympe de Gouges declared in 1791 that "woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum" no women had as yet been executed under the auspices of the new regime in France and although the guillotine claimed its first victim, a highwayman named Nicolas Jacques Pelletier, in April 1792, almost exactly a year would pass before the first woman, a cook called Jeanne-Catherine Clere who had drunkenly shouted "Vive le roi" in the street, followed him on to the infamous scaffold. As evidenced by the fact that the vast majority of those executed during the Revolution were men, the government remained resistant

to imposing the death penalty on women until the autumn of 1793, after which the numbers of women executed began to steadily rise. Although it is popularly supposed that the majority of the guillotine's victims, which numbered around 17,000 across France, including 2,639 in Paris, were either members of the aristocracy or political rivals to whoever happened to be in power, in fact they were mostly working class and usually condemned for the most minor infractions such as showing sympathy for the deposed royal family or in the case of four teenage girls executed in April 1794, dancing with Prussian soldiers. In common with similar regimes, including the Roman republic that political leaders such as Robespierre and Saint Just revered, collective punishment or extirpation, when the condemned person's family members would also be arrested and potentially executed alongside them, became increasingly common during the Terror, which naturally had an impact on the amount of women who faced execution as they were condemned alongside their fathers, husbands and brothers or even, as in the case of Princesse Joseph de Monaco, condemned for the crimes of male family members who had



## Revolutionary Paris Where the main events of the Revolution took place

### The Palais Royal

Formerly the residence of the Orléans branch of the royal family, the Palais Royal was converted into a high class shopping arcade. It quickly became a popular meeting place, especially for political radicals such as Théroigne de Méricourt, and it was in one of the shops lining the arcade that Charlotte Corday bought the knife with which she murdered Marat.

### The Guillotine

Before 1789, only the aristocracy could be afforded the privilege of a relatively clean and painless execution by beheading, so the introduction of the guillotine, which was intended to be used on all prisoners regardless of class, was considered a highly egalitarian move. It spent most of its time in the Place de la Révolution (now the Place de la Concorde).

### The Tuileries

Before the royal court moved to Versailles during the reign of Louis XIV, the Tuileries palace in the centre of Paris was the main royal residence. In the absence of the royal family, the state rooms presented a shabby sight when Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette and their family were forcibly brought back to the capital and took up residence there in October 1789.

### The National Convention

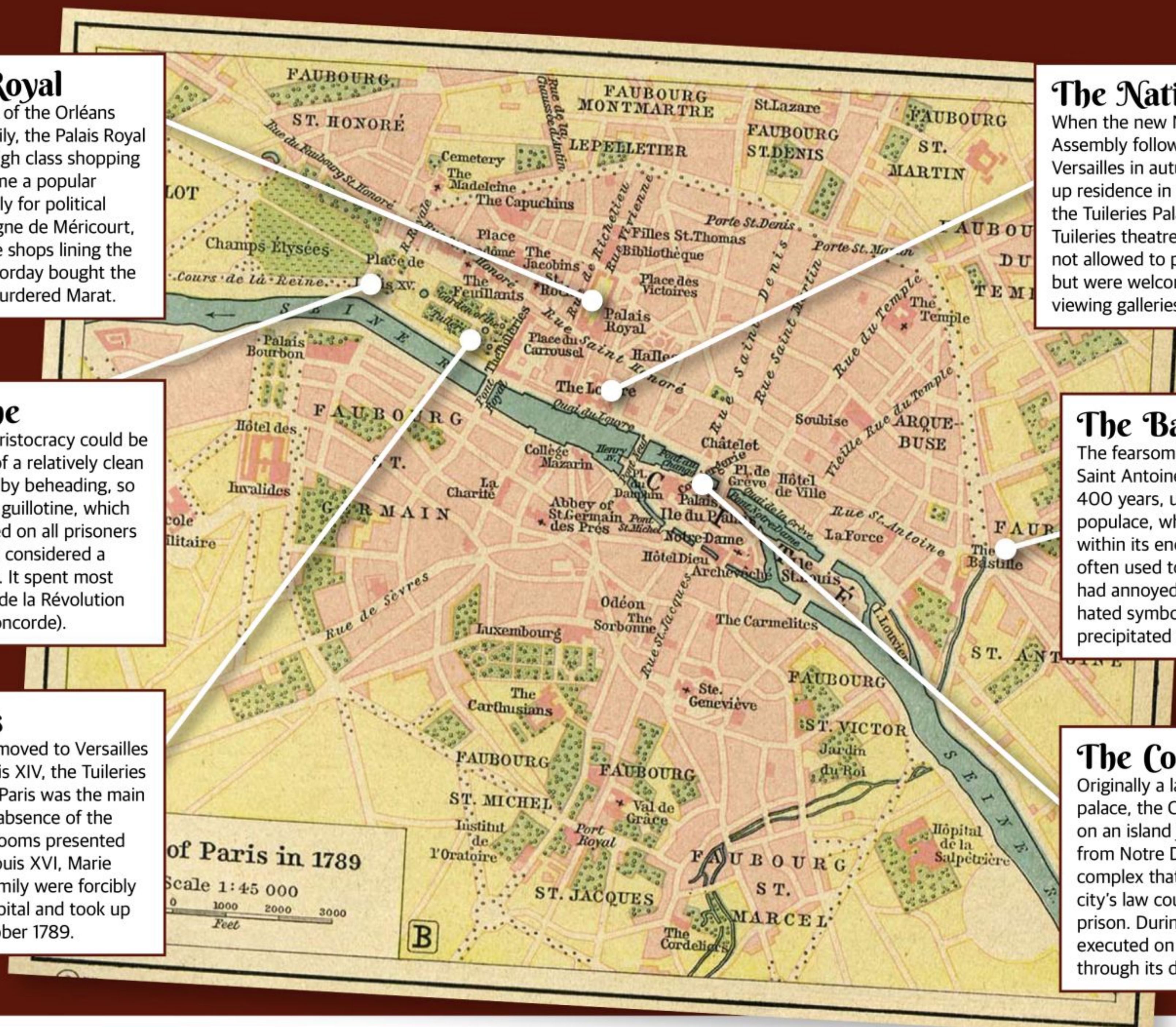
When the new National Constituent Assembly followed the royal family from Versailles in autumn 1789, they first took up residence in the old riding school in the Tuileries Palace before moving to the Tuileries theatre in May 1793. Women were not allowed to participate in the debates but were welcome to watch from the viewing galleries above.

### The Bastille

The fearsome Bastille loomed over the Saint Antoine district of Paris for over 400 years, universally feared by the populace, who dreaded disappearing within its enormous walls. As it was often used to incarcerate people who had annoyed the king, it became a hated symbol of royal power - which precipitated the assault on 14 July 1789.

### The Conciergerie

Originally a lavishly decorated royal palace, the Conciergerie, which stood on an island just a stone's throw away from Notre Dame, had evolved into a complex that incorporated both the city's law court as well as an enormous prison. During the Revolution, everyone executed on the guillotine passed through its doors on their way to death.



emigrated or were fighting with the counter-revolutionary and royalist forces. When Cécile Renault, the naïve daughter of a paper salesman, was arrested in June 1794 on the almost certainly spurious charge of wanting to murder Robespierre, her father and other members of her family were executed alongside her. Also executed on the

in July 1794, was Jean-Lambert Tallien, whose mistress Thérésia Cabarrus, a Spanish born aristocrat, was incarcerated in La Force prison with her friend Rose de Beauharnais, the future Empress Joséphine, and perilously close to being condemned to death. Although his loathing of Robespierre and his coterie was already enough

went to their deaths, and the Terror pronounced to be at an end. Thérésia, who would gratefully marry Tallien a few months later, was released shortly afterwards and universally hailed by the grateful populace, who viewed her as the heroine of the hour, as Our Lady of Thermidor. However, although the Terror was at an end, the women of France still had a long hard fight ahead of them as they sought equality and emancipation - in 1796, after a rising of the market women, they were banned from political meetings while gatherings of more than five women were deemed illegal and subject to being forcibly broken up. Matters became even worse with the rise to power of Napoléon Bonaparte, who was inherently chauvinistic and famously remarked in reply to a question by the celebrated authoress Germaine de Staël that the best woman in the world was 'the one who bore the most children'. The Napoléonic Code would strip women of whatever few rights they had gained since 1789, including the ability to easily get divorced, and would reaffirm their official position as passive citizens whose primary civic duty revolved around obedience to their husbands and producing children for the nation.

## “Although Charlotte Corday acted entirely alone, her murder of Marat would have serious repercussions for other women”

same day were the Saint-Amaranthe family and some of their servants, all falsely accused of being co-conspirators with Cécile, even though they had never before met her.

As the Terror increased pace and the capital's prisons overflowed with inmates, it became ever more clear to various members of the National Convention that Robespierre's regime was out of control and that he needed to be removed from power as soon as possible. At the head of the planned coup, which was to be put into effect

of an incentive to make Tallien desirous of his overthrow, it was his fear for Thérésia's life that added immediacy to his plan and made it imperative that the coup take place as quickly and effectively as possible. Armed with a knife that Thérésia had allegedly smuggled out to him and backed by a sizeable number of supporters, Tallien seized control of the National Convention and within 24 hours, Robespierre, Saint Just and their circle had been executed, to the marked delight of the women of Paris who cursed them as they









# The Spy Princess

*Noor Inayat Khan was the first female radio operator to be sent by SOE into occupied France. Time and time again she eluded the Nazis. When she was finally caught, her spirit remained unbroken to the end*

Written by Emma Bergman

A moonlit night in June 1943 saw two Lysander aeroplanes carry a group of SOE agents into occupied France. One of them was the 29-year old Indian princess Noor Inayat Khan. She was leaving the man she loved to help liberate the country she had grown up in.

SOE-circuits consisted of three persons, the organiser, who was the leader, the courier, who conveyed messages to contacts, and the radio operator, who communicated with headquarters. It was very dangerous to maintain the link to London; a radio operator was usually caught by the Nazis after only six weeks. Replacements were constantly in need and Noor was the first woman entrusted with this task.

Near the town Angers about 190 miles southwest of Paris the pilots saw three torches on the ground forming an inverted L. It was the signal for their place to land. A prearranged Morse code was flashed that told the pilots that friends waited on the ground. But was that really true? One of the men welcoming the plane, the Frenchman Henri Déricourt, was later found to have provided information to the Nazis. But for now, Déricourt inspired confidence in the agents as he provided them with bicycles for the first part of their journeys to different destinations across France. Noor trampled through the night to Angers where she took the train to Paris, the most dangerous place for an agent. She had fake identity papers in the name of a children's nurse, Jeanne-Marie Renier. Her code name was Madeleine.

## *Storm over the House of Blessings*

When Noor sat in the train trying to get some rest, her mind perhaps dwelt upon her happy childhood home near Paris: a stately house that was called Fazal Manzil, the House of Blessings. Here her father, Hazrat Inayat Khan, had taught his peaceful creed, Western Sufism, to disciples from all over Europe. Inayat Khan took pride in being a descendant of the Indian Tipu Sultan that had been killed fighting against the British. Like Tipu Sultan, Inayat Khan opposed British rule but he was also a pacifist. He tried to unite the major religions of the world and make all men brothers. Inayat Khan was also a prominent musician who in his youth travelled through the western world with his relatives. In Paris before





## A Royal Heritage

A closer look at Noor Inayat Khan's family

### Tipu Sultan

Known as the tiger of Mysore, in 1782 he became the ruler of Mysore in southern India and the economy flourished under his rule. Whereas Tipu was a Muslim many of his subjects were Hindus or Christians and at times he instigated severe religious persecutions. Tipu is mostly remembered for the wars he waged against the British and many Indians today regard him as a freedom fighter. Tipu fell in battle against the British in 1799, who forced his sons to leave Mysore and installed a compliant maharaja to their liking.

### Maula Baksh

A prominent musician who came to Mysore in 1860 to participate in and win a music contest arranged by the maharaja. The maharaja granted him the right to carry emblems of royalty and this made him a worthy consort of Princess Casimebi. Tipu's retainers arranged the marriage in secret. The newlyweds moved to Gujarat at India's north west coast where Maula started a music academy.

### Rahmat Khan

A musician from the Punjab that came to teach at the music academy. He married Maula's and Casimebi's daughter Khatijabi and moved into Maula's large family house. This was a household filled with music and guests where all religions were tolerated. In 1882, Khatijabi gave birth to Hazrat Inayat Khan.

### Inayat Khan

Influenced by the tolerant atmosphere in Maula's household, Khan travelled around India to give concerts and was initiated into Sufism, a mystical and peaceful Muslim movement that seeks a oneness with God. In 1910, Inayat travelled to Europe in order to create a better understanding

between East and West through his music. He moved to England in 1914 with his wife Ora and baby Noor where he founded a Sufi Order. He performed for injured Indian soldiers and played at charity concerts for war widows. But the fact that he had met Gandhi and was an Indian patriot made the British authorities suspicious. In 1920, Inayat moved to France with his family. During WWII his son Vilayat and his daughter Claire both fled to England: Vilayat joined the Navy and Claire served in the ATS (Army Territorial Service).

The Khan family with Noor Inayat Khan standing furthest left, accompanied by two uncles standing at the back



2x © Courtesy of Shrabani Basu & Museum of the International Sufi Movement

*"Noor had to take responsibility for the household and her younger siblings"*

the Great War, Mata Hari engaged them to play when she danced. The musicians then travelled to San Francisco where Inayat Khan fell in love with the young, beautiful Ora Ray Baker. Despite opposition from both her and his family they married and in 1914 their eldest child Noor-un-nisa, meaning 'light of womanhood', was born. Three more children followed and after WWI the family moved to Fazal Manzil. When Noor was 12, her happy life was changed forever when her father decided to return to India - alone. There he died of an illness and Ora sunk into a deep depression. For years to come, Noor had to take responsibility for the household and her younger siblings. She grew up to be a dedicated and principled woman who worked in Paris with radio and magazines for children. Nazism stood for all that Noor hated and when WWII broke out she trained to be a Red Cross nurse. Noor worked in a hospital until the German advance forced it to be evacuated. She then fled to England with her family but this did not mean she gave up the fight.

### SOE

In England, Noor joined the WAAF (Women's Auxiliary Air Force) and trained as a radio operator. The cold climate made Noor's hands swell and the clackety-clack sound she made

when she transmitted gave her the nickname Bang Away Lulu. Noor worked at a base where bomber pilots were trained but applied for a position of greater responsibility. She was interviewed and asked her opinion of the Indian independence movement that was a cause for great concern for the British government. Noor's father had taught her never to lie and she answered honestly that after the war she might fight against Britain for the freedom of India. When Noor left the interview she felt downcast and sure that her honesty had ruined her chances of promotion. She had no idea that Special Operations Executive (SOE) followed her career with interest. SOE had been created to, in Churchill's words, "set Europe ablaze" and aid Resistance groups in occupied Europe. Conflicts with de Gaulle made it very difficult for SOE to find agents who were fluent in French. So, on 10 November 1942, SOE interviewed Noor and gave her the green light. During her training to become an agent, doubts were raised whether the sensitive and idealistic Noor really was suitable. But the urgent need for new radio operators in France caused the objections to be brushed aside. By this time, Noor was happily engaged to a British officer but she was firmly determined to fight the Germans. On the night of 16 June 1943 she stepped into a Lysander plane at RAF Tangmere air field in West Sussex.





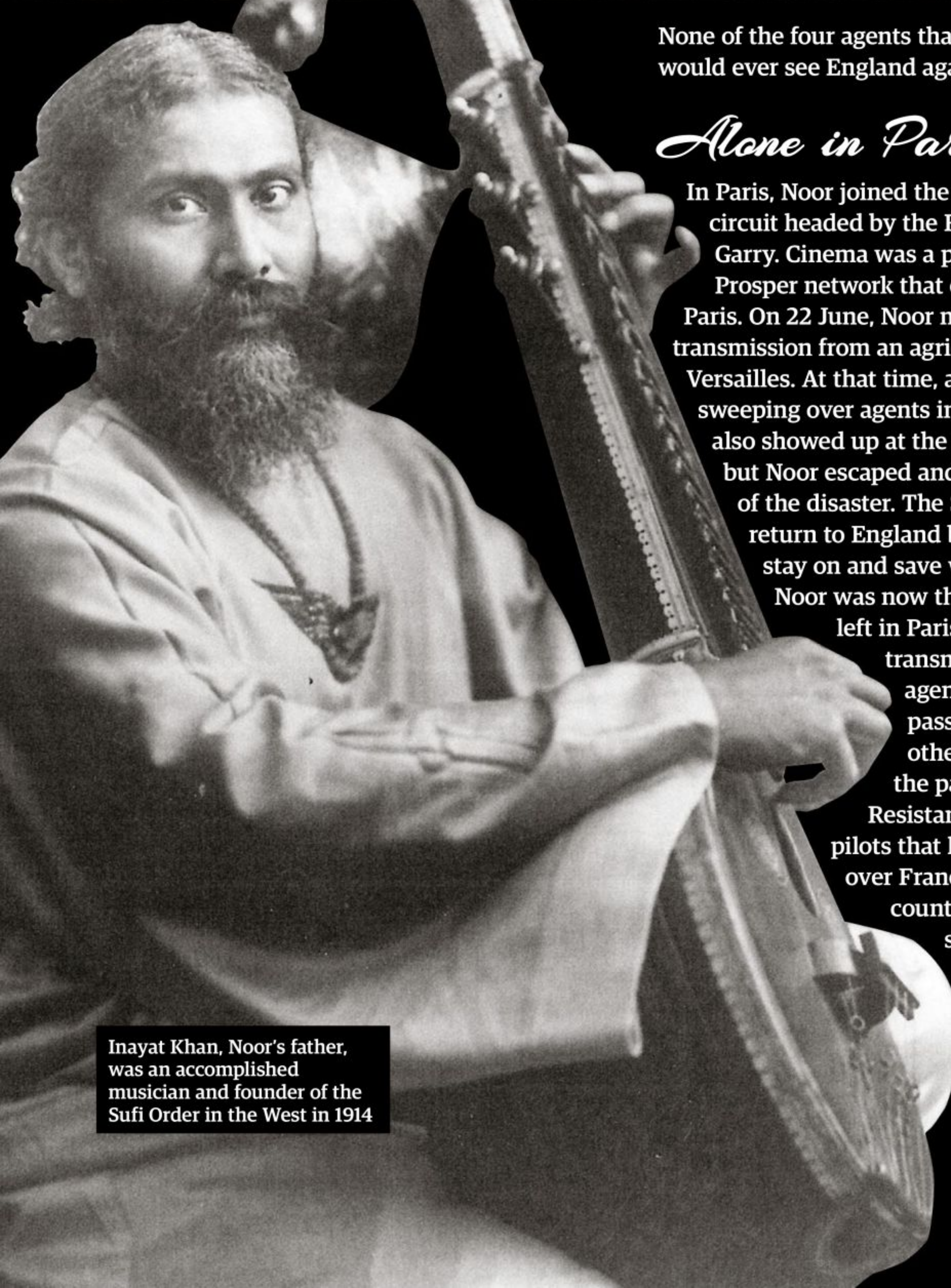
## The Spy Princess



Like the rest of her family, Noor was trained in music and can be seen here playing her veena, a form of lute



Noor in uniform, ready to do her duty for the Allies



Inayat Khan, Noor's father, was an accomplished musician and founder of the Sufi Order in the West in 1914

None of the four agents that left that night would ever see England again.

### *Alone in Paris*

In Paris, Noor joined the Cinema/Phono circuit headed by the Frenchman Henri Garry. Cinema was a part of the large Prosper network that extended far beyond Paris. On 22 June, Noor made her first transmission from an agricultural college near Versailles. At that time, a wave of arrests was sweeping over agents in Paris. The Germans also showed up at the agricultural college but Noor escaped and informed London of the disaster. The SOE wanted her to return to England but she insisted to stay on and save what could be saved.

Noor was now the only radio operator left in Paris and she also

transmitted for de Gaulle's agents. On her own she passed on messages to other agents and directed the passage of arms to the Resistance. Noor also helped pilots that had been shot down over France to escape the country. To avoid capture she constantly changed her place of transmission. She had to travel on the metro and carry her radio equipment in a

bulky, conspicuous bag. Once, two soldiers approached her and demanded to know what she was carrying. Noor calmly opened the bag and started to explain how her "cinematographic apparatus" worked. The ignorant soldiers were duly impressed and let her go. Another night Noor needed to send an urgent message to London from her apartment. She was busy attaching her aerial to a tree outside the house when a German officer showed up behind her. "May I help you?" he asked gallantly. Noor graciously accepted his offer and he went away feeling like a true gentleman having assisted a music-loving woman!

### *Capture*

But time was running out for Noor. Gestapo had managed to get a description of her appearance and a reward of 100,000 francs was placed on her arrest. For over three months she succeeded in keeping one step ahead of the Nazis and on 14 October she was going to return to England. But the night before, when she entered her apartment, a Frenchman working for the Gestapo waited behind the door. Noor fought back violently and bit the traitor on his wrists but he managed to draw his weapon and call for reinforcements. Several German Gestapo agents arrived at the apartment and saw how the Frenchman stood as far away from Noor as possible, pointing at her with his gun. Noor was brought to the Gestapo headquarters in Paris in the feared Avenue Foch. She demanded to take a bath in private and this was allowed. As soon as the door closed behind Noor she climbed out





of the window, intending to climb down the five storeys to the ground. However, a Gestapo agent in the next room saw what she was doing and dragged her inside again. Shortly after Noor's arrest, Gestapo also got hold of Henri Garry.

In Noor's apartment, Gestapo found her radio equipment and a notebook full of codes and messages. With this the Nazis could steal her identity. Noor has been criticised for this slip-up but her instructions from SOE in this regard had been unclear. Also, Noor had not been given time to finish her training before she was sent into France. She bravely refused to disclose her security checks to Gestapo. This should have alerted London but instead they sent agents and equipment straight into German hands.

## Escape

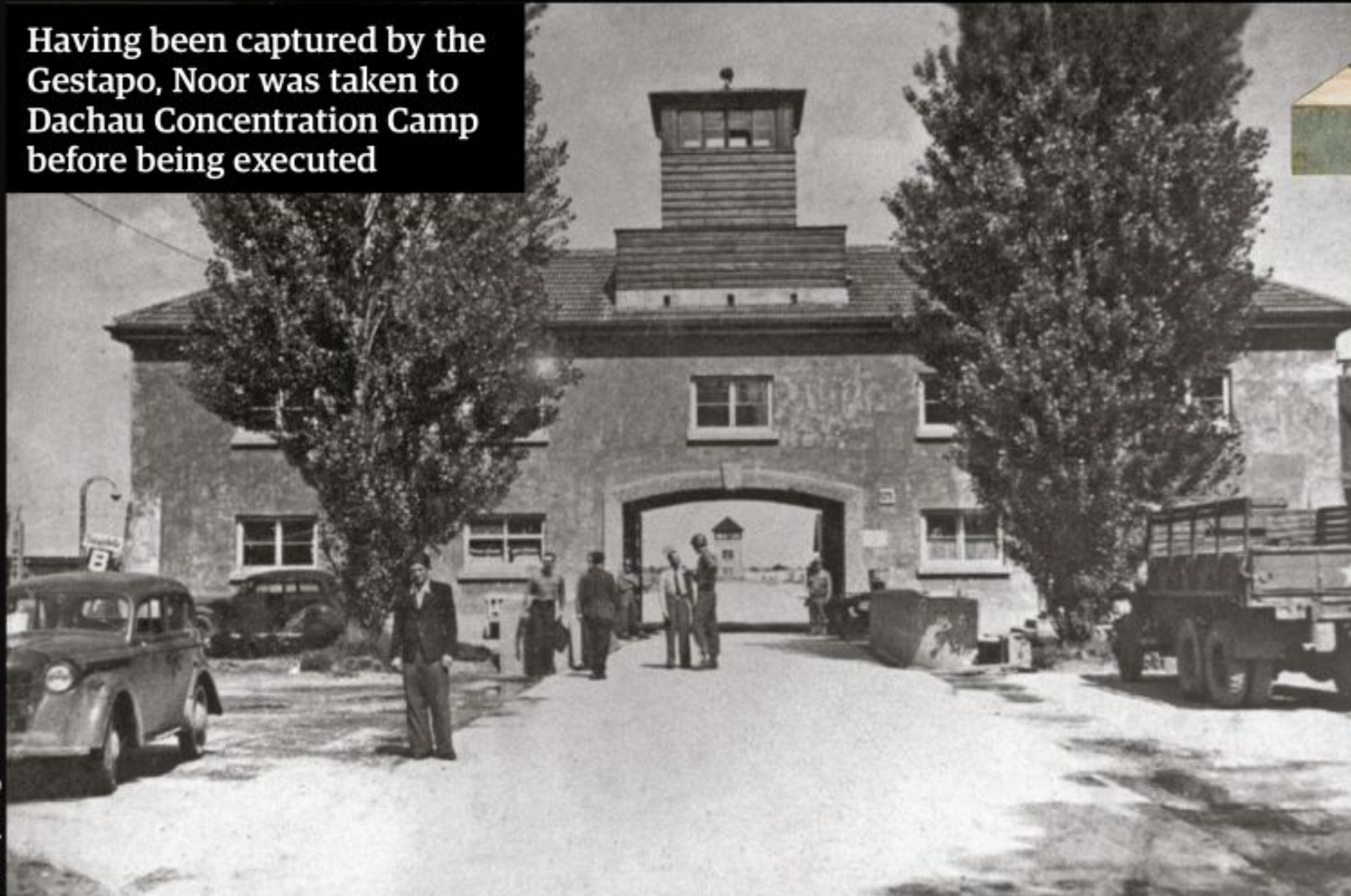
During her imprisonment, Noor managed to get in touch with two other captured agents, the Englishman John Starr and the Frenchman Léon Faye. She suggested that they escape together. Starr was a privileged prisoner who cooperated with the Germans and he had no real desire to flee. But he knew he would be dishonoured if Noor - a woman - made her way back to England without him. Starr managed to steal a screwdriver when he was repairing a Hoover. The prison cells lay in the attic and using the screwdriver the prisoners loosened the iron bars that covered the windows. The night of 26 November, Starr and Faye broke free and stepped out on the roof. Noor was standing on her bed struggling to remove the last bar from her window. Faye helped her from the outside, lifted her up and kissed her. The three escapees had hung their shoes around their necks and now they carefully moved across the roof. They had brought blankets from their cells that were torn into stripes to make a rope.

Then the air raid siren went off. The RAF used the moonlit night to bomb Paris! Desperately the escapees laid down on the roof and tried to melt into the shadows. It was impossible to continue the flight when the AA searchlight swept over the roofs. The guards always checked the cells when an air raid took place. Noor and the men continued towards the next roof that was one storey lower. This roof had no flat surfaces

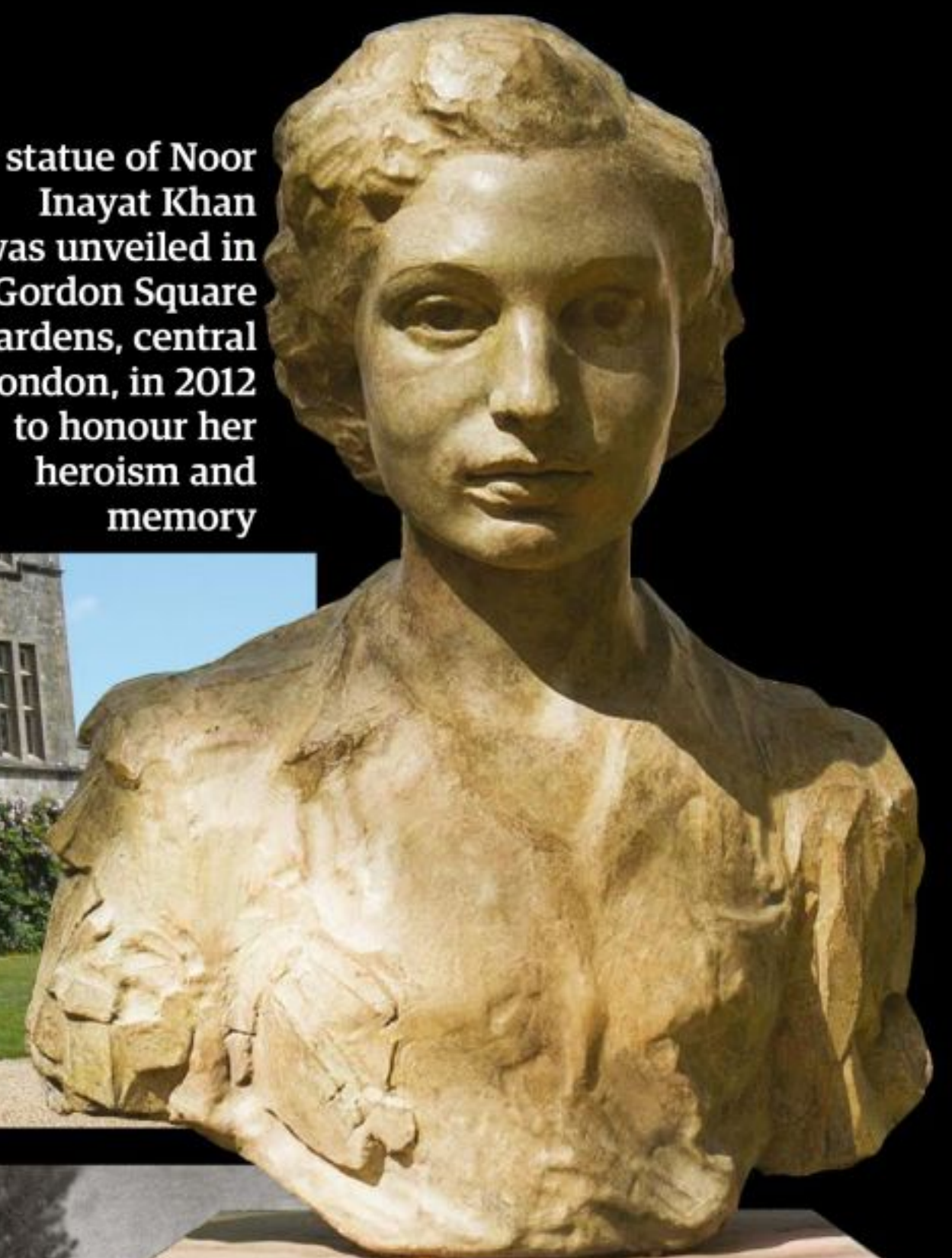
Beaulieu Manor, where Noor Inayat Khan was trained by the SOE for operations behind enemy lines in France during WWII



Having been captured by the Gestapo, Noor was taken to Dachau Concentration Camp before being executed



A statue of Noor Inayat Khan was unveiled in Gordon Square Gardens, central London, in 2012 to honour her heroism and memory



NOOR  
INAYAT KHAN  
1914-1944  
G.C., M.B.E.  
Croix de Guerre

*"For over three months she succeeded in keeping a step ahead of the Nazis"*

where they could get a grip with their feet so they swung themselves toward a window, broke it and climbed in.

## Liberté

As quietly as possible they rushed downstairs only to discover that German guards were already watching the streets. They nevertheless managed to get to the corner of the street and Faye started to run. A volley of gunfire shattered

the night and he was knocked down by guards. Starr and Noor ran back into the house. With no way to escape they waited in helpless fright in the living room. Gestapo agents rushed in, kicked and beat them. Back at headquarters, the enraged Sturmbannführer Kieffer had them lined up against a wall and shouted that they would all be shot. In the end he calmed down and instead demanded that they signed an assurance not to try to escape again. Starr did so but Faye and Noor refused. Shortly afterwards, Noor somehow managed to escape again but was captured and sent to Germany. There she was isolated, chained. In September 1944, Noor was executed in Dachau. Her last word was 'Liberté'. After her death, Noor was awarded the Croix de Guerre and the George Cross. In 2012, Princess Anne unveiled a bronze bust of Noor at Gordon Square Gardens in London.

## Who betrayed Noor?

The suspects who could have informed on the SOE spy

It is not known who betrayed Noor but after the war Henri Déricourt was tried for being a double agent by both French and British authorities. Déricourt, though, claimed to be a triple agent who disclosed some information to the Nazis in order to deceive them in matters vital to the war effort. F Section chief Major Nicholas Bodington testified in Déricourt's favour and he was released.

Another suspect is Henri Garry's sister, Renée. She was jealous of Noor's charm and beauty and after Noor's arrest Renée allegedly came to collect the monetary reward. But the fact that Henri Garry also was arrested and executed saved her. The court would not believe Renée could have put her own brother into danger.

*Special thanks to Shrabani Basu who helped us source images for this feature. Her book, **Spy Princess: The Life Of Noor Inayat Khan**, is out now and goes even deeper into Noor's story.*



# DISCOVER THE TURBULENT HISTORY OF RUSSIA'S RULING DYNASTY

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# THE WORST US







# PRESIDENTS

When asked to rank US presidents here are the ten that historians judge the worst failures

Written by Ben Gazur



## HOW WE PICKED:

This list was compiled based on academic polling ranking US Presidents dating back to 1948. By averaging out their rankings we settled on the following ten Presidents who consistently finished at the bottom of lists and looked into why their administrations are so reviled.

© David Cousins



# HERBERT HOOVER

**PRESIDENTIAL TERM:** 4 MARCH 1929 – 4 MARCH 1933  
**SUCCEEDED BY:** FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

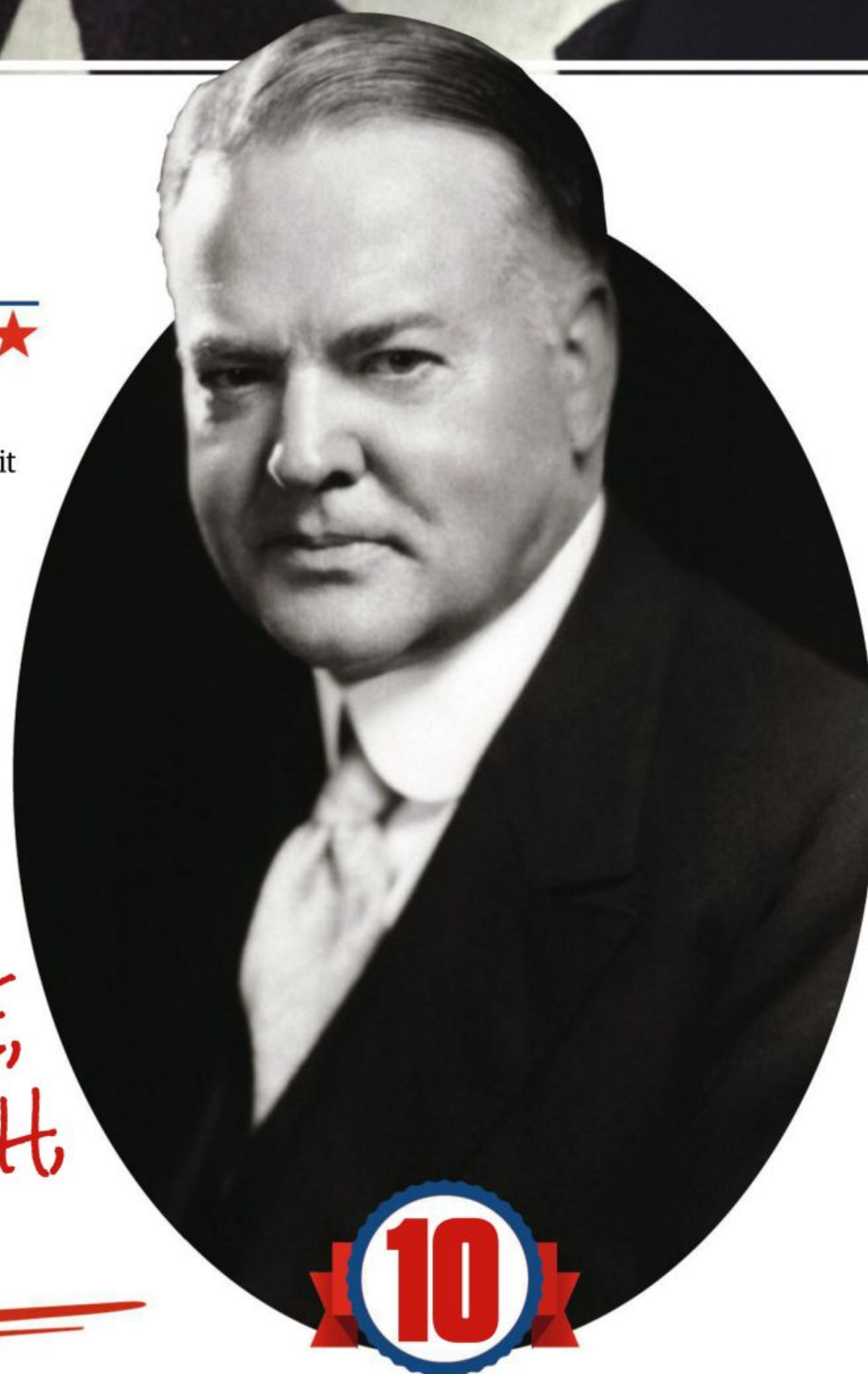


**H**erbert Hoover had it in him to be one of the most fondly remembered US presidents. At the start World War I Hoover led relief efforts for tens of thousands of Americans caught up in the conflict. He also organised a large amount of aid for children across Europe. For these works he became known as 'The Great Humanitarian' at the time - now he is more likely to be known as the father of the Great Depression.

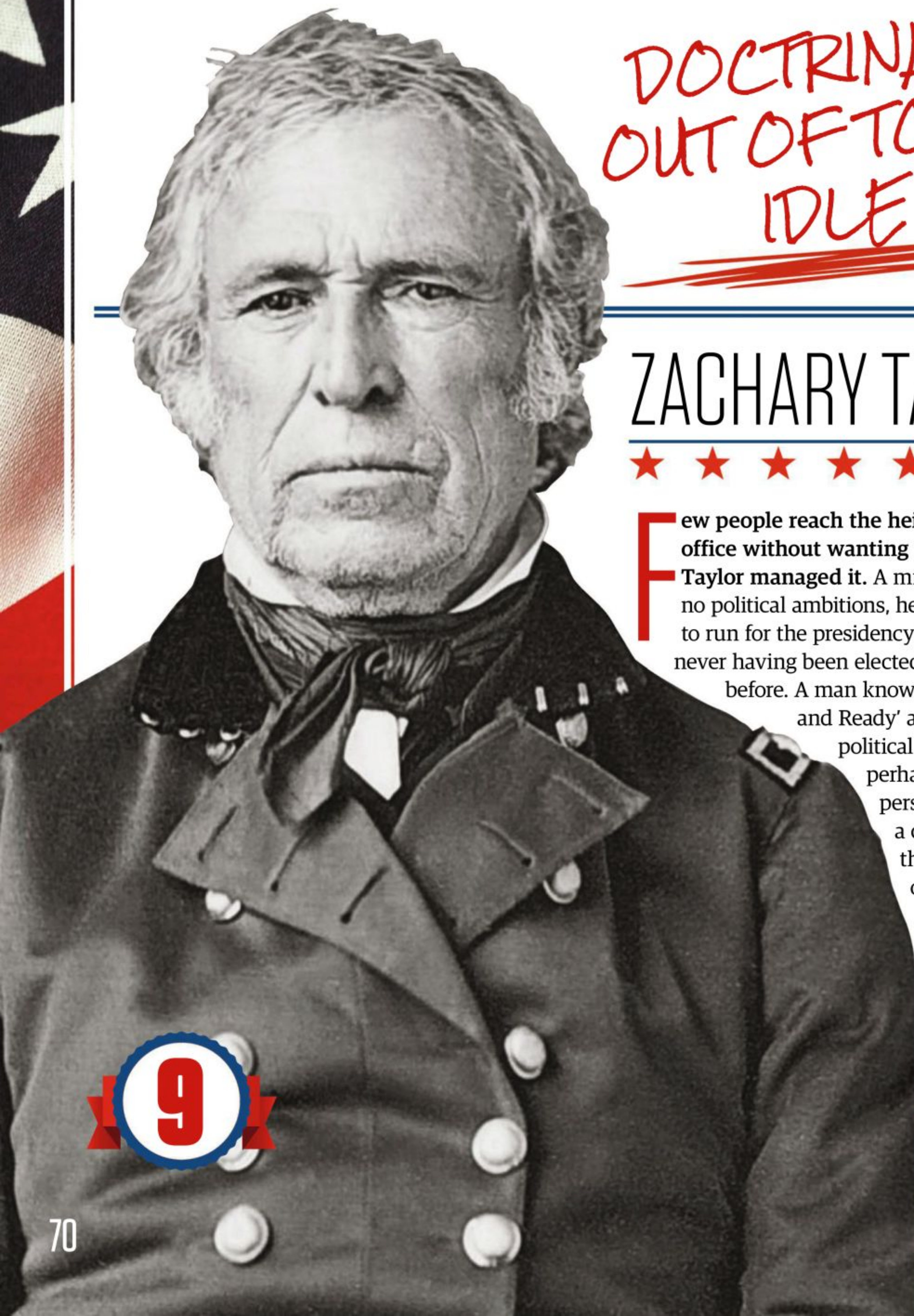
Mere months after taking office the stock market crash of 1929 occurred. Hoover believed that as long as business did not panic the market would recover. Business did panic. As

a conservative he was doctrinally opposed to government intervention but when he did act it often worsened the Depression. The Tariff Act of 1930 cut US trade almost in half.

His perceived idleness angered voters. The shanty camps of the new homeless populations became known as 'Hoovervilles' and the newspapers used to wrap up against the cold were 'Hoover Blankets.' When the Bonus Army, thousands of ex-servicemen who marched on Washington calling for cash payment of bonuses, was dispersed by the army with the deaths of two protesters, Hoover appeared cold and uncaring.



DOCTRINAIRE,  
OUT OF TOUCH,  
IDLE



# ZACHARY TAYLOR

**PRESIDENTIAL TERM:** 4 MARCH 1849 – 9 JULY 1850  
**SUCCEEDED BY:** MILLARD FILLMORE



**F**ew people reach the heights of political office without wanting to be there, but Taylor managed it. A military man with no political ambitions, he was convinced to run for the presidency by friends despite never having been elected to anything before. A man known as 'Old Rough and Ready' and without any political sense, he was perhaps not the best person to deal with a country riven by the sensitive issue of slavery.

While Taylor owned slaves he was not in

favour of either expanding slavery or abolition but rather with preserving peace at all costs. With the cession of huge territories in the West from Mexico, debate raged as to whether these new lands should enter the Union as slave or free states. Increasingly the slave states began to talk of succeeding from the United States as they feared new free states would vote to ban slavery throughout the country. Taylor opposed the Compromise of 1850 that sought to diffuse the issue.

Before he could shape any distinct policy, however, Taylor fell ill after eating too many cherries and cold milk. Soon afterwards he succumbed to fever and died leaving little legacy other than inaction. A forgettable and still rather regrettable president.

OBSTRUCTIVE





# ULYSSES S GRANT

PRESIDENTIAL TERM: 4 MARCH 1869 – 4 MARCH 1877  
SUCCEEDED BY: RUTHERFORD B HAYES

8

General Grant was a key-player in the Union victory in the civil war. Despite a reputation as a drunk, Lincoln trusted him with major campaigns. As a general Grant has always been ranked highly but his presidency is often viewed as a swamp of corruption and scandal.

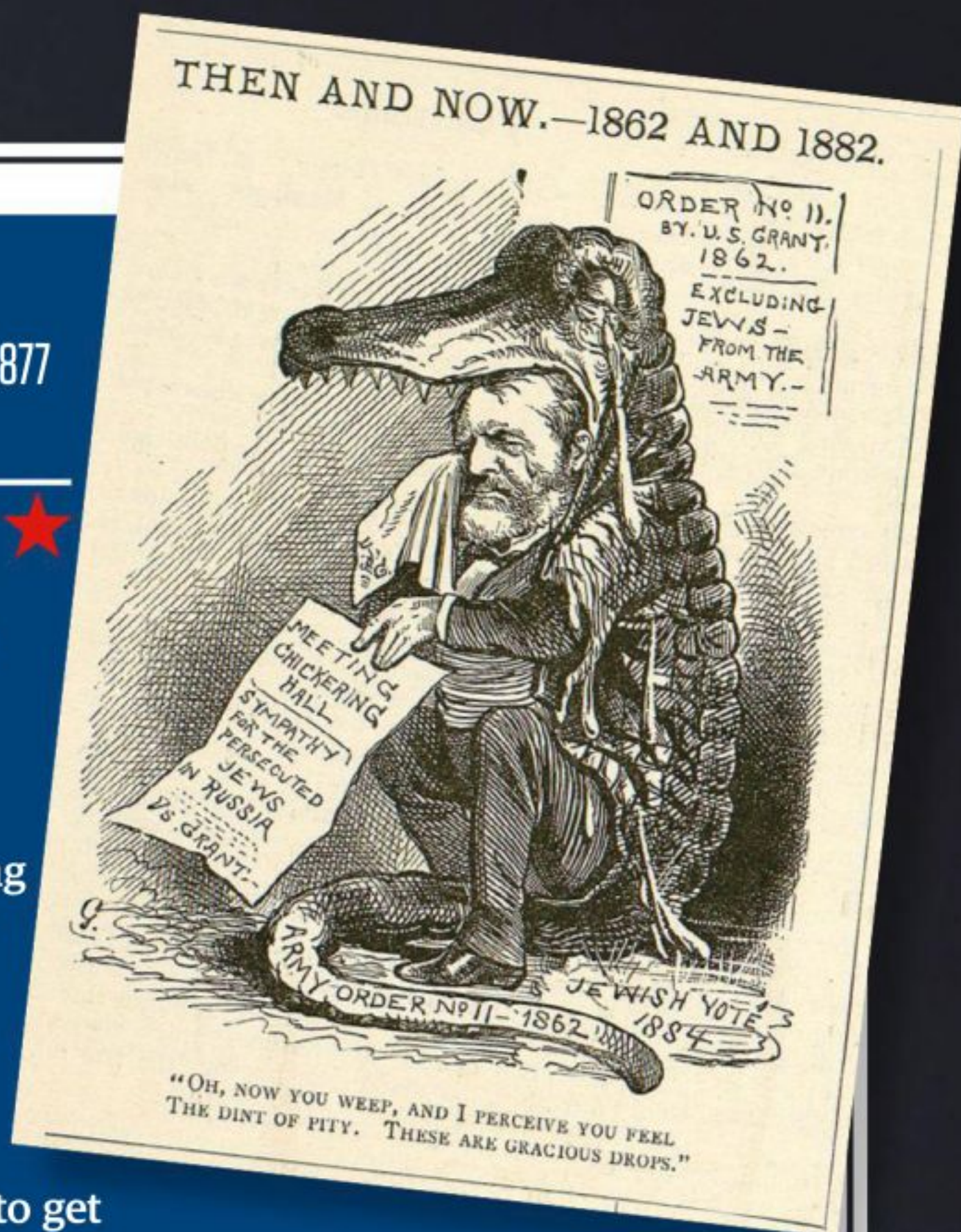
President Grant ran his government as if he was still a commanding general - he took decisions, such as treaty negotiations, without consulting his cabinet and sent personal aides rather than appointed officials to deal with them. While loyalty in an army is prized, Grant often proved too ready to remain loyal to associates who did not deserve it. Orville E Babcock served as Grant's private secretary and used his access to sway the president's

opinions. When Babcock was indicted in the Whiskey Ring scandal involving bribery and the siphoning off of tax revenues Grant testified on behalf

of his secretary to get exonerated. So many members of Grant's cabinet became involved in extortion of funds and bribery scandals that political opponents dubbed the corruption Grantism.

Recent assessments of Grant's presidency have been kinder to him for several of his acts in reconstructing a broken nation but the incompetence of his handling of politics will always mar Grant's administration.

CORRUPT, AUTOCRATIC,  
ANTISEMITIC



# WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

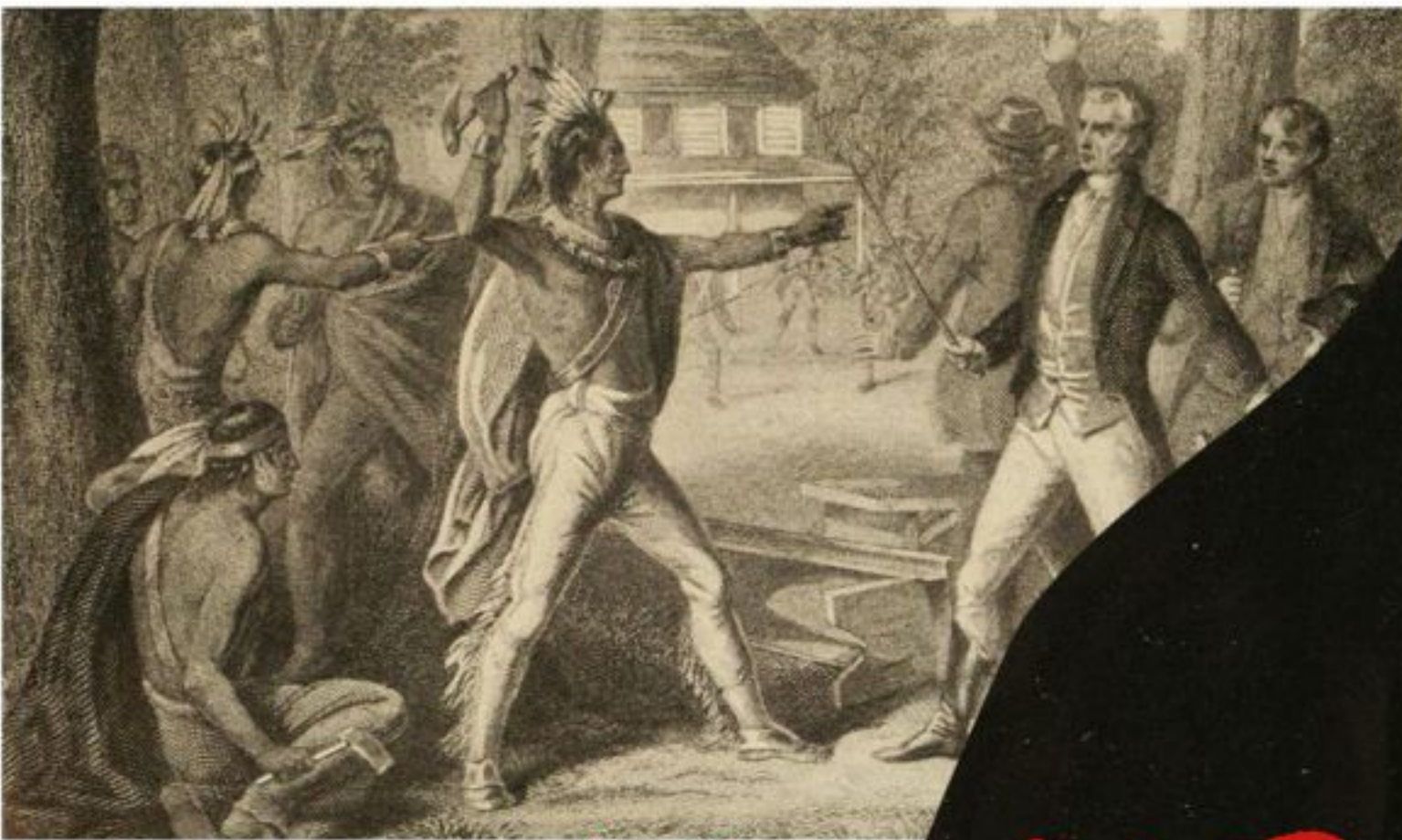
PRESIDENTIAL TERM: 4 MARCH 1841 – 4 APRIL 1841  
SUCCEEDED BY: JOHN TYLER

The first hundred days of a presidency are vital in getting things done. Unfortunately William Henry Harrison only saw 30 days of power before he died, and he spent many of those in his bed with a cold.

Harrison had risen to the presidency thanks to his fame as a military general. During Tecumseh's War Harrison fought a rising of Native Americans. At the Battle of Tippecanoe his army fought the Native Americans and won, earning Harrison national fame and grand martial reputation, even though his forces had outnumbered his enemy. Known as 'Old Tippecanoe' Harrison was viewed by his opponents as a backwoodsman who would do nothing but sit in his log cabin and drink cider. This backfired when Harrison and his running mate Tyler adopted the cabin and cider as their symbols, leading to even greater popularity.

To show that he was still a tough figure Harrison went through a long and bitterly cold inauguration. He refused

to wear an overcoat and delivered a two-hour speech as the wind howled. When he fell ill with a cold three weeks later it was thought at the time that his foolhardy bravery against the weather had caused it. When he died exactly one month after taking office he left behind confusion as to what should happen next.



INABILITY TO WITHSTAND COLD

7



6

## JOHN TYLER

**PRESIDENTIAL TERM:** 4 APRIL 1841 – 4 MARCH 1845  
**SUCCEEDED BY:** JAMES K POLK

**T**he death in office of William Henry Harrison caused a constitutional kerfuffle as Article II of the constitution says that in the case of a president dying 'the powers and duties' shall pass to the Vice-President. So was John Tyler now president, or merely acting as president?

Tyler resolved the issue by taking on himself the office of president. For the rest of his term though people mocked him as 'His Accidency.'

Originally a Democratic-Republican, Tyler had joined Harrison on the Whig party ticket but soon after ascending to the president Tyler

broke with the Whigs over the issue of tariffs when he vetoed their bills, leaving him with few allies. The presidential power of the veto had only rarely been used before and congress sought to Impeach Tyler, the first such attempt in the United States. The open hostility between Tyler and congress also led to several cabinet nominees being rejected by the senate - another ignoble first.

Among Tyler's successes must be counted the annexation of Texas. Even this caused trouble for the US though, as it introduced a new area of slave-holding and inflamed the arguments between slave and free states. A slaveholder himself, Tyler would later be the only president to back the Confederacy in the Civil War.

**RACIST, STUBBORN, UNPOPULAR**



## MILLARD FILLMORE

**PRESIDENTIAL TERM:** 9 JULY 1850 – 4 MARCH 1853  
**SUCCEEDED BY:** FRANKLIN PIERCE

**M**illard Fillmore gained the presidency when Zachary Taylor died in office. As Vice-President Fillmore tried, and failed, to get his candidates positions in the federal government causing him to resent many in his own party. As the Senate Vice-President, Fillmore presided over the debates relating to the compromise of 1850 about whether the western states should be admitted as slave-holding or free.

After Taylor's death the cabinet all offered their resignations, as a matter of courtesy to the new president, and Fillmore dismissed them all to bring in supporters of the compromise. Fillmore did bring peace between the states, but at a great cost. The compromise included

the Fugitive Slave Bill which compelled the government to return runaway slaves to their masters and punished those who aided fugitives. Texas was admitted as a slave state and territories like Utah and New Mexico were to be allowed to decide for themselves whether they would allow slavery.

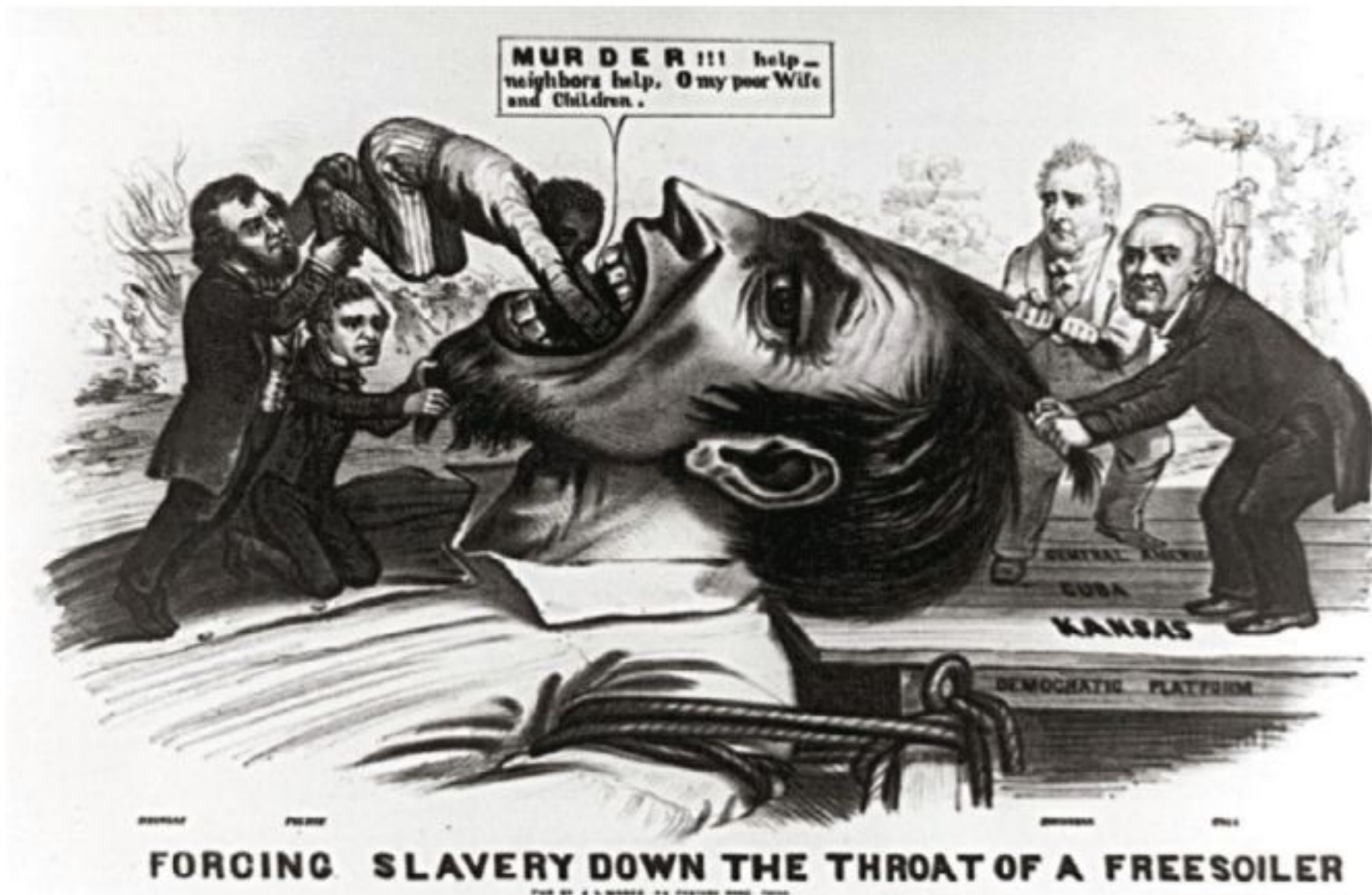
Fillmore made repeated attempts to fill a vacancy on the Supreme Court but the Senate either rejected his nominees or refused to hear them. His unpopularity with his own party led to him being ditched at the 1852 Whig convention. He later ran as a candidate for the Know Nothing party (also known as the Native American party), but voters pretended not to know him and he finished third in the race.



5

**IDLE, WEAK-WILLED, SHORT-SIGHTED**





## THE PRESIDENT RANKING GAME

Author and historian Robert Strauss discusses the changing status of US presidents

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

**Why did you pick James Buchanan as the worst US president for your book?**

When you pitch things you have to have a catchphrase and when I pitched my book, it was probably 2014 or 2015, and I said to my agent, half of America hates Obama, thinks Obama is the worst president, the other half thinks George Bush is the worst president, but neither of them started the civil war, which James Buchanan did.

administration like Andrew Mellon, who he made the Secretary of Treasury. I think looking back, you bring him up from the bottom.

**Many might expect Richard Nixon on our list, but academic polling actually has him outside the bottom ten. Is his record being reassessed?**

No, I don't think he is being reassessed. I think Watergate is really the great scandal, but there are two particular things that happened during his administration that were positive. He formed the Environmental Protection Agency, and he opened trade with China. He recognised that China was going to become the big power and tried to open the gates there. But Watergate was terrible. He was going to win an election in a landslide, so what is he doing trying to steal records of people? I think there is an obsession with some people who have been successful that they have to be better than that. It doesn't satisfy them.

**Warren G Harding was often ranked lowest amongst scholars up until about 2000, so how did his standing change?**

Harding had a reputation and he did apparently father an illegitimate child in the White House or near his time in the White House and there were scandals in his administration. But once he became part of history you would realise that there were several things he did, that made him not the worst. One is that he avoided a world war. He was a peace-time president. Another thing is that, however much you think the president affects the economy, the economy was really good when he was president. The third thing is he brought very intelligent people into his

**Are there any president ranking trends you find interesting?**

In a recent CNBC poll, Dwight Eisenhower has become fifth best president. The further away you get the further you like certain people and he is one of them. So some people have risen up, like Eisenhower, but mostly its consistent at the very top, it's always Lincoln, Roosevelt and Washington in some order.

## 4 FRANKLIN PIERCE

PRESIDENTIAL TERM: 4 MARCH 1853 – 4 MARCH 1857  
SUCCEEDED BY: JAMES BUCHANAN

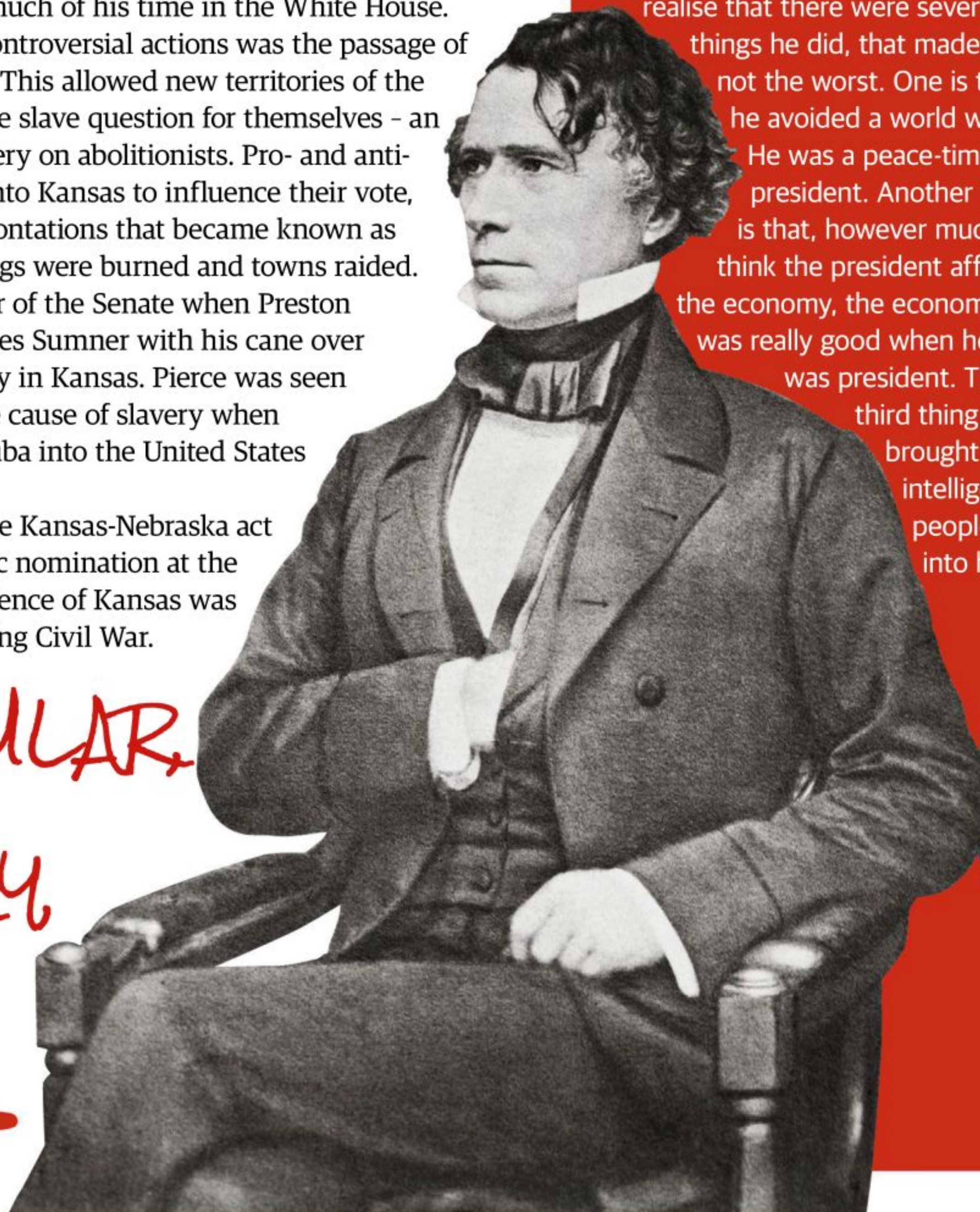


**F**ranklin Pierce won a contested Democratic nomination by strongly supporting the compromise of 1850 but ran in the presidential election by mostly keeping quiet. This preserved party unity and propelled him to the White House with few people knowing what he stood for. Unfortunately a train accident on the way to his inauguration caused the gruesome death of his son and led Pierce to suffer a period of depression that clouded much of his time in the White House.

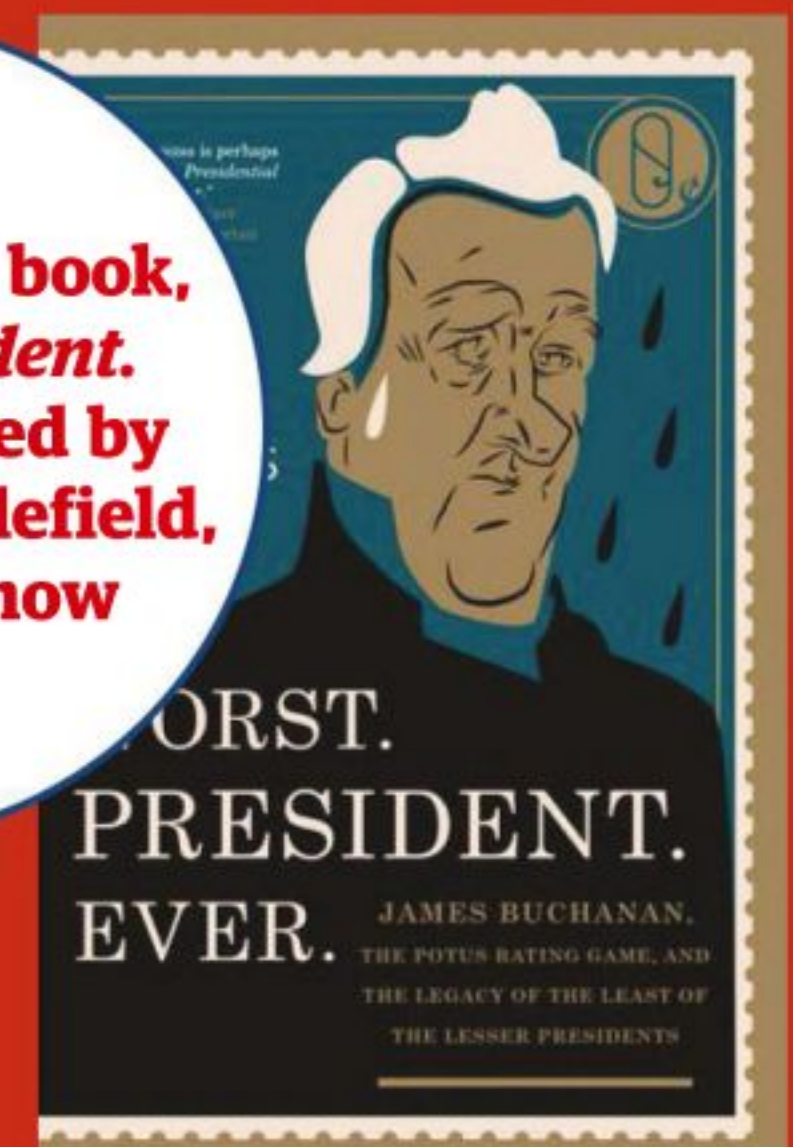
Among Pierce's most controversial actions was the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This allowed new territories of the United States to decide the slave question for themselves - an act viewed at forcing slavery on abolitionists. Pro- and anti-slavery factions flooded into Kansas to influence their vote, which led to armed confrontations that became known as 'Bleeding Kansas.' Buildings were burned and towns raided. Violence came to the floor of the Senate when Preston Brooks nearly killed Charles Sumner with his cane over an argument about slavery in Kansas. Pierce was seen to be trying to further the cause of slavery when he attempted to annex Cuba into the United States as a slave holding state.

The repercussions of the Kansas-Nebraska act cost Pierce the Democratic nomination at the 1856 election and the violence of Kansas was just a prelude to the coming Civil War.

UNPOPULAR  
PRO-SLAVERY  
RACIST



Robert Strauss' book, **Worst. President. Ever.**, published by Rowman & Littlefield, is available now

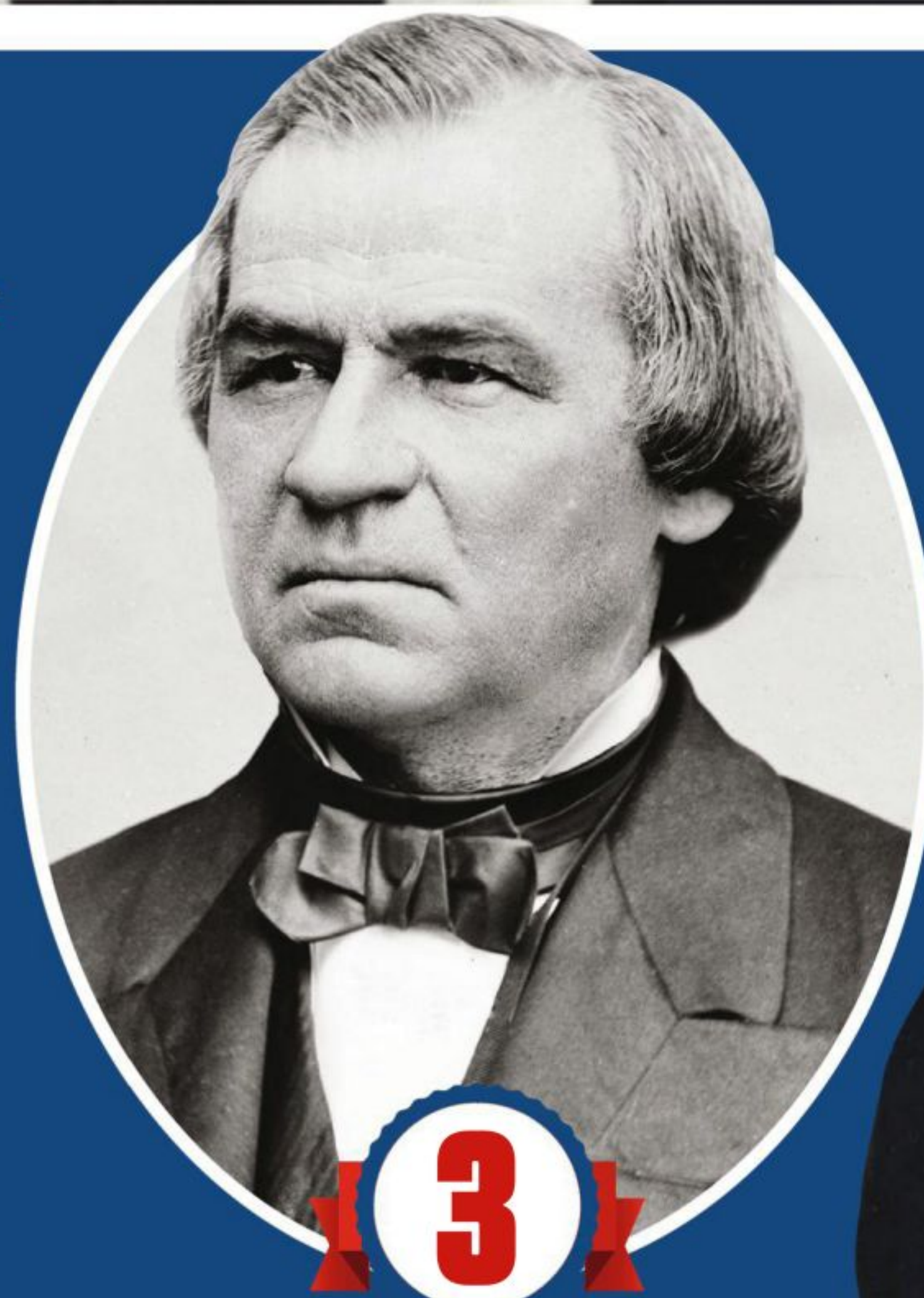




**PRESIDENTIAL TERM:** 5 APRIL 1865 – 4 MARCH 1869  
**SUCCEEDED BY:** ULYSSES S GRANT

**PRESIDENTIAL TERM: 5 APRIL 1865 – 4 MARCH 1869**

**SUCCEEDED BY: ULYSSES S GRANT**



**W**inning a civil war is a Herculean labour but bringing a shattered nation together is an even more monumental task. When President Lincoln was assassinated shortly after the Northern victory, reconstruction fell to his Vice-President Andrew Johnson, but few people could have been less suited to healing a nation than him. His reputation was badly hurt when he arrived drunk to his own Vice-Presidential inauguration.

As president, Johnson said: "This is a country for white men, and by God, as long as I am President, it shall be a government for white men." He opposed the 14th amendment that granted citizenship to former slaves and the

creation of the Freedman's Bureau designed to support their physical needs. Johnson also vetoed the Civil Rights Act of 1866 that provided rights for African Americans, though Congress successfully overrode this.

Johnson was the first president to be impeached when he clashed with his secretary of war Edwin Stanton and sacked him. For violating the Terms of Office Act he was impeached but the measure to remove him from office failed to reach the required two-thirds majority by just a single vote.

After failing to be nominated by his party in 1868 Johnson issued a full amnesty to all former Confederates who had not already been indicted of a crime.

OBSTRUCTIONIST, RACIST,  
INCOMPETENT, IMPEACHED



# WARREN G HARDING

**PRESIDENTIAL TERM:** 4 MARCH 1921 – 2 AUGUST 1923  
**SUCCEEDED BY:** CALVIN COOLIDGE

**SUCCEEDED BY:** CALVIN COOLIDGE

**D**uring his term in office, truncated by a fatal heart attack, Warren G Harding was one of the more popular presidents. Yet after his death revelations such as his long affair with Nan Britton damaged his reputation - though there was worse that he was accused of.

Harding was a compromise candidate and ran for election on the basis of returning to “normalcy” after the shocks of World War I. Yet once in office Harding had no firm policies to follow. As he said himself: “I am not fit for this office and should never have been here.” Harding cut taxes for the wealthy and helped to deregulate the economy in ways

that would in part contribute to the Stock Market Crash of 1929.

It was the appointments made by Harding that have seen him ranked as among the worst of all presidents. While he may not have profited personally from illegal financial dealings many of his allies did. The Teapot Dome scandal saw Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall sent to prison for selling off oil reserves while receiving bribes from the buyers. In the Justice Department bootleggers of illicit alcohol bought themselves out of prosecutions.

Harding did little in office though his life in the White House was far from a quiet one. Despite prohibition being in place Harding often held parties where whiskey flowed freely.

CORRUPT, INDECISIVE,  
IDLE, HYPOCRITE



# JAMES BUCHANAN

**PRESIDENTIAL TERM:** 4 MARCH 1857 – 4 MARCH 1861  
**SUCCEEDED BY:** ABRAHAM LINCOLN

**J**ames Buchanan came to office just as the simmering tensions between abolitionists and anti-abolitionists boiled over. Days after his inauguration the Supreme Court handed down the infamous ruling in the Dred Scott case that ruled black people could not be citizens of the United States. This was a decision that Buchanan tacitly approved of and he had pressured a Northern judge to side with the Southern majority to ease the appearance of it being a partisan ruling. Buchanan hoped, as he said at his inauguration, that the issue of slavery would "be speedily and finally settled."


Buchanan's term in office began inauspiciously with a financial crash that disproportionately harmed the northern states. As banks collapsed Buchanan did little to help, instead focusing on future reform that was cold comfort to those suffering at the time. The greatest threat to peace was 'Bleeding Kansas' however, where slavers and abolitionists were engaged in often vicious fighting. Buchanan seemed to side with those who favoured Kansas entering the Union as a slave state.

A long career in politics had taught Buchanan how to manage a difficult situation in Congress but the solutions he aimed for all came with terrible long-term costs. He chose a cabinet dominated by Southerners at just the time he should have been uniting the country. Some of his appointments were disastrous. As states began to talk of secession Buchanan's Secretary of War Floyd worked actively against the interests of the United States. He scattered the army over a wide area to make it ineffective and stored huge amounts of munitions in the South where they could be used by the secessionists. Floyd eventually became a general in the Confederate army.

Buchanan said in the State of the Union Address of 1860 that "the injured [Southern] States, after having first used all peaceful and constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union." After Lincoln's victory in the 1860 election seven states seceded from the Union and the civil war began in earnest. Buchanan did not try to stop them leaving but sought compromises that might bring them back. He may not have caused the war but Buchanan did precious little to stop it and historians have damned him ever since.

IDLE, STUBBORN,  
PREJUDICED





The Alexander Mosaic depicts Alexander charging against Darius at the battle of Issus based on a painting by Philoxenus



# BATTLE OF ISSUS

MODERN DAY SOUTH-EAST TURKEY,  
5 NOVEMBER 333 BCE

Written by Murray Dahm

**A**t the battle of Issus, in early November 333 BCE, Alexander faced the Persian King Darius in person for the first time. Massively outnumbered, the Macedonian army faced the numberless might of the Persian military machine. The outcome would decide the future of both the Persian and the Macedonian empire.

Alexander the Great invaded the Persian Empire in spring 334 BCE, crossing the Hellespont in fulfilment of the military ambitions of his father, Philip. Philip had been assassinated in 336 and Alexander wasted no time in using the army his father had developed to ensure that Greece and Thrace were subdued before embarking on the most aggressive military campaign the world had ever seen.

Within a month of his invasion, Alexander had faced and defeated a Persian army at the battle of the Granicus in what is now north western Turkey. At the Granicus he had faced an army commanded by Persian governors (satraps) and other nobles and cobbled together out of their own troops. The victory





opened the way for Alexander to march deeper into the Persian Empire but he had yet to face the full force of the Persian army itself or the Great King, Darius, himself. Alexander marched down the coast of modern-day Turkey, taking and besieging cities. In early 333 he marched into Galatia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia. There he received word that Darius was on the move to meet him.

Darius realised that he needed to face Alexander himself since the loss at Granicus meant, not only, that he had lost several commanders, but cities and territories were surrendering to Alexander without a fight. Darius mustered his enormous army and marched to Sochi - the exact location is still debated, but it was somewhere in north western Syria. This gathering of his forces took some time, and it was more than a year before his army was gathered. Nonetheless, Darius stole a march on Alexander who continued to advance southwards down the coast before learning that Darius was behind him, having marched undetected from Sochi to Issus through

the Amanus mountains. Alexander turned about and marched northwards.

We are told that Darius' army numbered up to 600,000 men, summoned from across the empire. In addition to men from the Persian homelands and Media, there were contingents from Armenia, Hyrcania, and other parts of the empire, and 30,000 Greek mercenaries. Most modern estimates reject this vast horde (bringing the total down to around 100,000 men) but, whatever the actual number, Darius' army severely outnumbered Alexander's forces (a maximum of 40,000 men). The breakdown of numbers at Issus provided follows Curtius Rufus' account (3.2.3-9) - 250,000 infantry and 58,000 cavalry. Darius' first choice of position at Sochi gave room for the deployment and manoeuvre of his entire force but he was persuaded to advance to a narrower position at Issus and then the Pinarus river. The plain here may still have been four kilometres wide but it was not enough room to fit Darius' army and he was forced to station a huge

reserve of troops behind his front line. He must still have got the jump on Alexander since his men had time to erect palisades and secure their position on the northern river bank.

The mainstay of the Persian army was levies of troops armed with spear and bow. There were also a variety of contingents who were armed according to their own traditions and fought with other weapons such as axes. The Persians had shields and some armour although they were less well protected than their Macedonian opposition. As a result of this, Darius had a large number of Greek hoplite mercenaries (30,000 according to Arrian). These were better armed and armoured than traditional Persian troops and Darius even had Persian troops equipped and trained as hoplites (known as *cardaces*).

The backbone of the Macedonian army was the phalanx of 9,000 men recruited from the provinces of Macedonia. These were divided into six divisions or *taxeis* (sing. *taxis*) of 1,500 men each. Each man was armed with a long spear, a *sarissa*, five and



a half metres long. He also wore armour, a shield and carried a sword. In addition to this Alexander had a corps of heavy cavalry, the Companions, armed with a spear of their own, the xyston. Alexander led the cavalry in person on decisive charges. There was also a unit of 3,000 hypaspists or Foot Guards which protected the flanks of the phalanx. To augment these, Alexander's army had a variety of other troops, light armed peltasts, archers, various mercenaries and other types of cavalry.

At Issus, Alexander would march northwards straight into battle. We are told that he entered the plain approaching Darius' position at a very narrow part, where he had to deploy his phalanx in double depth (32 men deep rather than the usual 16) and with his cavalry behind them. As he advanced towards Darius he was able to extend his line, making the phalanx its normal depth and placing his cavalry on each wing. On the right he had his Thessalian and Macedonian cavalry, next to them his Royal Guard cavalry and hypaspists. Then came the phalanx, in six taxeis. Next to them on the left wing were the Peloponnesian cavalry. Behind these he had a line consisting of his mercenaries (probably to fill any gaps created in his line and to replace any losses). In front of his whole formation he placed a screen of skirmishers and archers. These advanced towards the Persians.

There is some confusion in our sources, not only to the number of men involved but also in how they were deployed. It is most likely, however, that Darius himself was on the left of the Persian line

**“As soon as the Macedonian army came within range, the Persian army unleashed a hail of different missiles upon them”**

with his cavalry and the infantry from Persia and Media. Arrian, usually our most reliable source, places him in the centre of the Persian line but there are sound reasons to reject this. Next to these were more Persian infantry, possibly the cardaces armed in the manner of Greek hoplites. Then came the Greek mercenary hoplites followed by the Persian right wing of cavalry with a contingent of archers and slingers. In front of the Persian line was a screen of javelin-men and slingers. Darius also deployed a force on a hill on the southern bank of the river which would threaten the Macedonian right flank.

As Alexander continued to advance, he sent his screening force of light-armed troops to dislodge the force threatening his right flank. This was achieved without much fuss even though Arrian tells us that the flanking force consisted of 20,000 men. Darius reinforced his own right wing with a cavalry contingent from his left (probably the Median cavalry). Seeing this, Alexander strengthened his own left wing by sending the Thessalians from the Macedonian right wing to reinforce his commander there, Parmenion.

The exact sequence of events after this becomes slightly unclear and our sources disagree. It is possible that things happened simultaneously although there is reason to accept the following

reconstruction. The reinforced right wing of the Persian cavalry charged across the river engaging the cavalry of the Macedonian left wing. The remainder of the Persian army did not move from their prepared positions but as soon as the Macedonian army came within range, they unleashed a hail of different missiles upon them. Perhaps at the same time as the charge into the Macedonian left, Alexander launched a charge of his own on the right, crossing the river. Here we are let down by our sources. Arrian tells us that Alexander charged straight at Darius who he has positioned in the middle of his army behind the Greek mercenaries. This won't work since it is unlikely that Darius would position himself behind Greek mercenaries and not his own elite troops, the Apple-bearers. It also makes Alexander's charge difficult to understand, straight into heavy hoplite infantry in the centre of the battlefield. Curtius' positioning of Darius on the left wing of the Persian formation solves most issues, however. Alexander seems to have charged straight at Darius - having the Persian king on the left makes this more explicable, especially if moving cavalry to the Persian right wing created a gap or disruption in the Persian formation close to Darius' position. Taking his Companion cavalry, the Royal Guard, the hypaspists



The battle as interpreted by 15th century painter Albrecht Altdorfer



Paolo Veronese's 16th century painting illustrates Alexander meeting Darius' family after the Battle of Issus





Jan Brueghel the Elder's *The Battle Of Issus*, which hangs in the Louvre

and the right-most taxis of the phalanx, Alexander charged into the river. This combined force of infantry and cavalry dislodged the troops opposing them. In order not to lose contact with the right-most taxis of the phalanx, however, the other taxis of the phalanx will have been forced to advance obliquely into the river. There they engaged with the Persian infantry and the Greek mercenaries opposite them. The mercenaries were regarded by Arrian as Darius' best troops and the equal of the phalanx. This is the reason Arrian wanted Darius in the middle of his line, behind (what Arrian considered) his best troops. Arrian also wanted Alexander to defeat the mercenaries with his initial cavalry charge. Alexander did defeat the Greek mercenaries but in a different manner.

The cavalry fight on the Macedonian left was hard-fought and the phalanx versus mercenary infantry battle in the river was a stalemate. The battle would be decided on the Macedonian right where Alexander's charge pushed the enemy



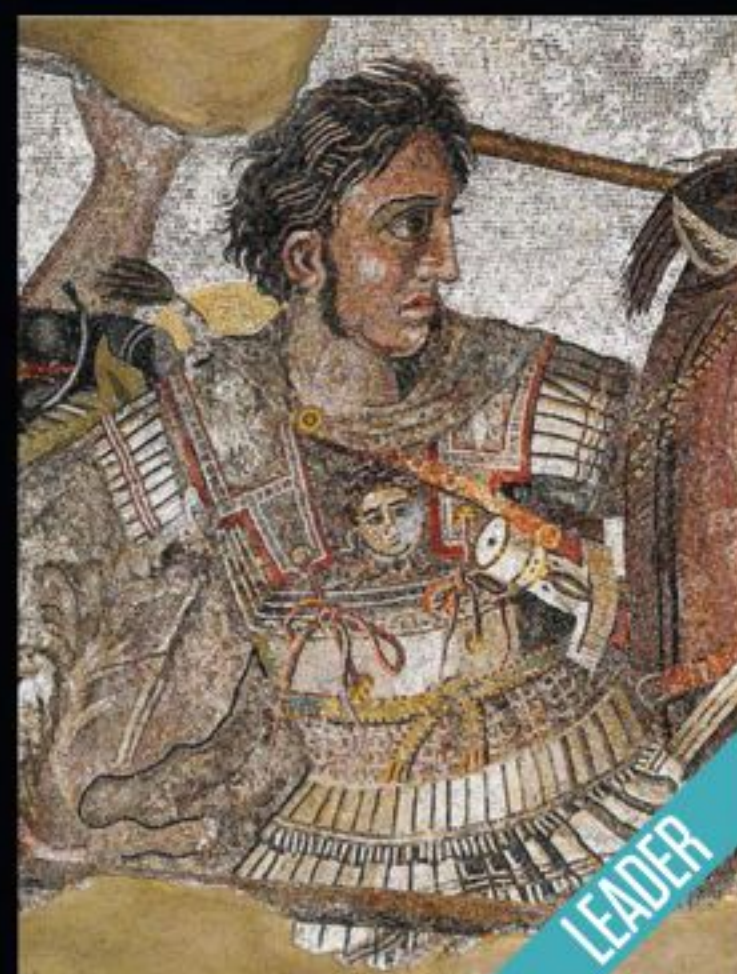
## MACEDON

NUMBER OF INFANTRY

32,000

NUMBER OF CAVALRY

5,100



### ALEXANDER THE GREAT

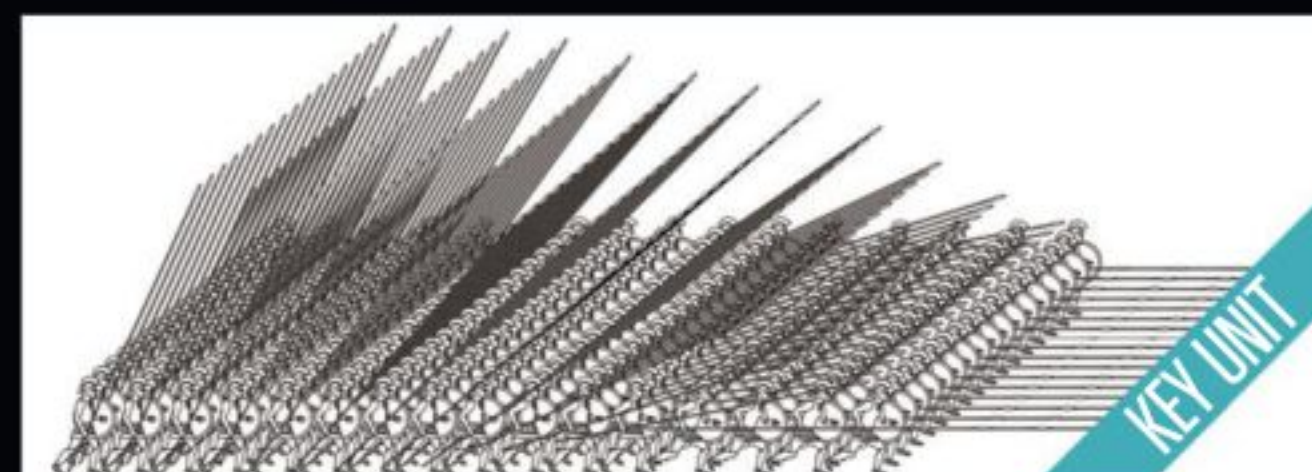
Alexander became king of Macedon in 336, invaded the vast Persian empire in 334 and conquered it in only a few years.

- + Determined, cunning and brave, leading from the front
- Given to bouts of temper and pettiness

## THE PHALANX

The Phalanx was the backbone of the Macedonian military machine, consisting of six divisions of 1,500 men each.

- + Formidable in attack and immovable in defence
- Vulnerable in the flanks; needed to be deployed correctly



## SARISSA

The long, 18 foot (5.5 metre), spear of the Macedonian phalanx was distinctive and had immense defensive and offensive capabilities.

- + A long range threat and strength in numbers
- Needed to be deployed correctly and specific wood needed



## ACHAEMENID PERSIA

NUMBER OF INFANTRY

250,000

NUMBER OF CAVALRY

58,000



### DARIUS III

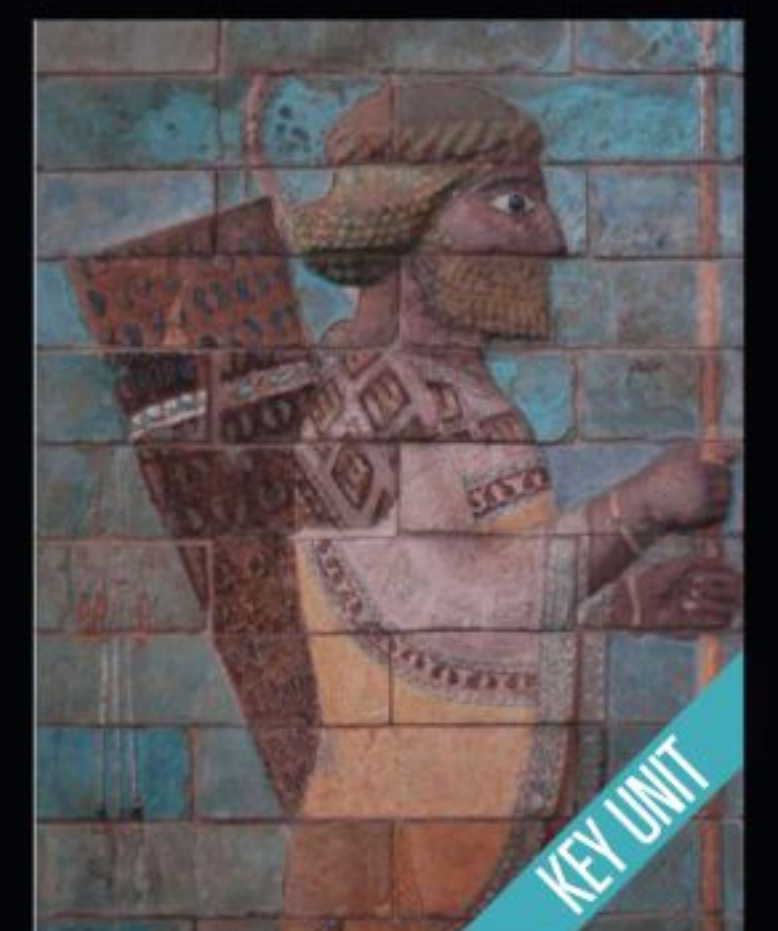
Darius came to the throne, also in 336 BCE and inherited an empire stretching from Turkey to India, Armenia to Egypt.

- + The almost incalculable resources of the empire were at Darius' disposal
- An inflexible fighting style and need for personal safety

## APPLE-BEARERS

The Apple-bearers were the descendants of the Immortals, 10,000 Persian infantry who served as a bodyguard to the king.

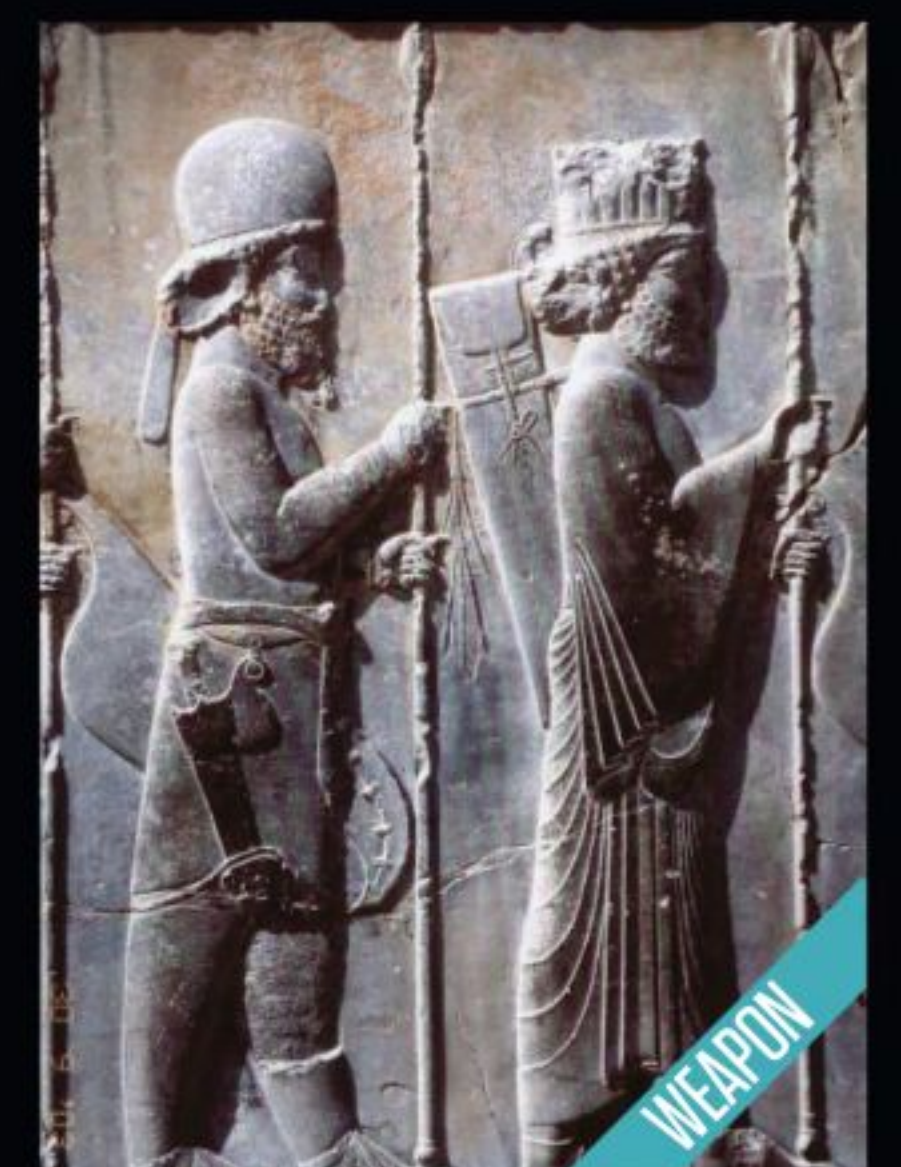
- + The best and bravest warriors from the whole Persian army
- Armed like normal troops and prioritised the king's protection



## SPEAR

The Persian spear was a thrusting weapon, 6 feet (2 metres) in length. It had a broad iron leaf-shaped spearhead.

- + Offensive stabbing weapon with some reach
- Not as great a reach as the Persians' Macedonian opponents





from the river bank. We do not know how hard the fighting there was but at some point, Darius fled from the battle in his chariot. Arrian has this occur almost as soon as Alexander charged. When Darius fled, his troops, especially his elite Apple-bearers, went with him. Alexander then turned his attention to charge the rear and flank of the Greek mercenaries who were pressuring his phalanx in the river. If Alexander's initial charge had been through the mercenaries this would have been impossible. Attacked on two sides the mercenaries too, fled. On the Macedonian left, Parmenion finally got the upper hand and sent the Persian cavalry from the field. The Persian reserve had not fought but they also took to their heels. All of these events may have happened close together and possibly as soon as Darius broke and fled. For this reason, it seems likely that Darius put up a fight for some time.

A general rout of the Persian army followed Darius' flight. We are told Darius fled until nightfall or midnight, first in his chariot and then on horseback. He was pursued by Alexander but had too much of a head start. He had lost 110,000 casualties as well as his camp. There, Darius' wife, mother and three of his children had awaited the outcome of the battle but so thorough was his defeat that there was no time to evacuate them. Alexander took all of them captive. The Persian war chest had been sent to Damascus but it too would fall into Alexander's hands. It is testament to the vast resources of the Persian Empire that Darius was able to recoup his losses and build an even bigger army (one million men according to some sources) to face Alexander again at Gaugamela in 331.

On the Macedonian side we are told of remarkably low (suspiciously so) casualty numbers. One source has only 504 wounded, 32 infantry deaths and 150 cavalry deaths. Another adjusts this up to 130 infantry deaths. We may be sceptical (and editors will be found adding zeros to make the numbers of Macedonian losses higher), but the losses in all of Alexander's battles are disproportionately low. The Persians were less well armoured than the Macedonians which may explain this discrepancy in part, as might the fact that many of the casualties occurred when the Persians broke and fled.

Rather than provide the showdown between Darius and Alexander, Darius' escape at Issus allowed him to live to fight another day. For Alexander, however, it reinforced the superiority of his troops and his leadership over Darius and the Persians. Darius' defeat also sent a clear message to the Persian Empire that they needed to take Alexander seriously. Several cities, whole provinces in some cases, welcomed Alexander with open arms as a liberator. Others, like the city of Tyre, put up a stout resistance. Alexander followed Issus, not by pursuing Darius to Babylon, but by continuing down the coast of the Levant and on into Egypt. Having secured the empire behind him, he returned to advance on Babylon (and face Darius again) in 331, at the battle of Gaugamela where the fate of the Persian Empire would be decided once and for all.

## 5 NOV 333 BCE

How the Persians were routed by Alexander's mighty forces in southern Anatolia

### 01 Darius takes up position

Having marched behind Alexander's route, Darius positions his army on the northern bank of the Pinarus River. There he erects palisades and takes advantage of the terrain to oppose Alexander's advance.

### 02 Alexander advances

Alexander receives word of Darius arriving to his rear so he turns about and advances northwards. The approach to the battlefield is very narrow and only allows Alexander to advance with his army in double depth. As they advance towards the Persians, the plain widens allowing the Macedonian army to spread out, the phalanx thinning to its usual depth and the cavalry and other troops being deployed to each wing.

### 03 Battle begins

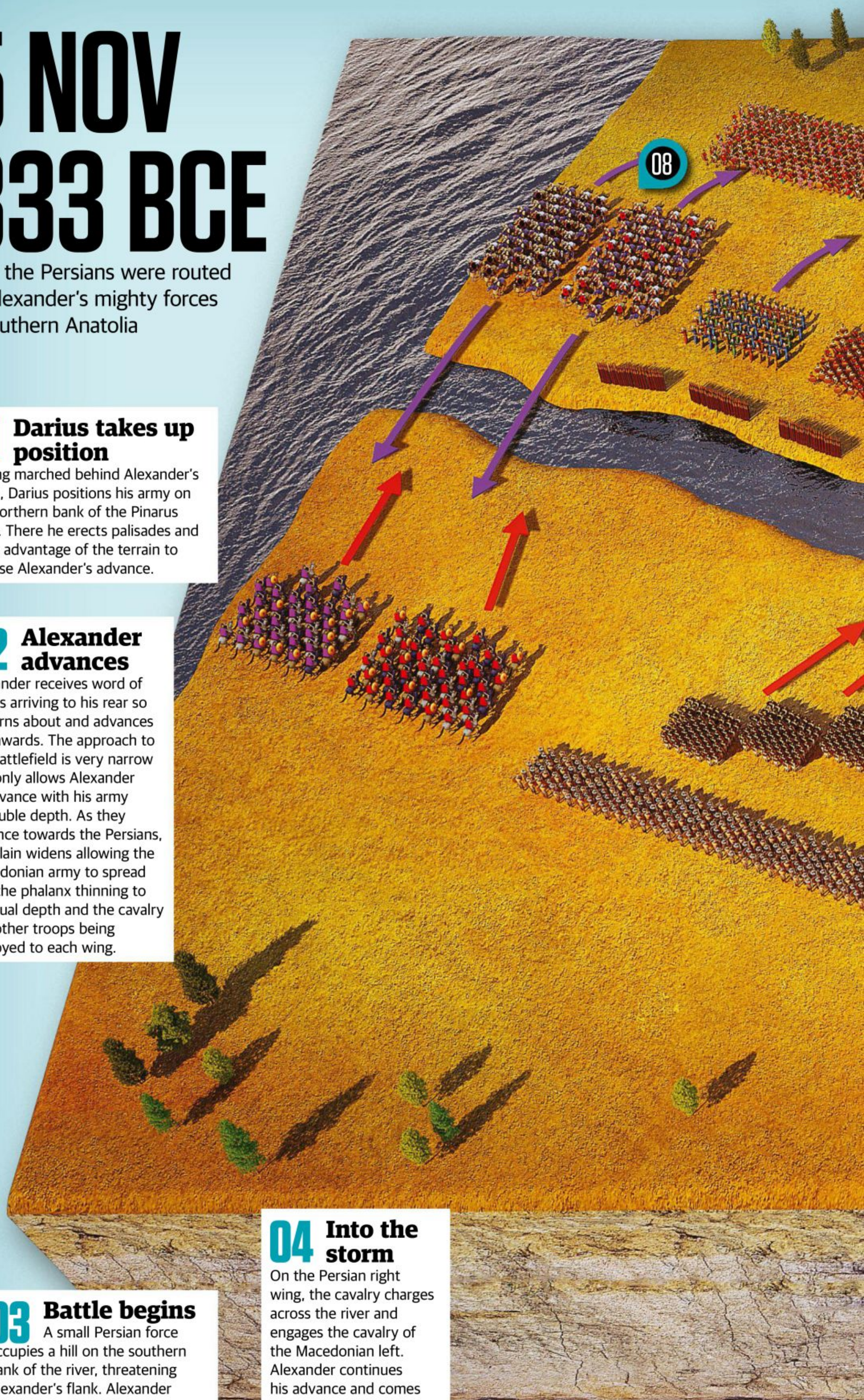
A small Persian force occupies a hill on the southern bank of the river, threatening Alexander's flank. Alexander sends a force of light armed troops and archers who dislodge these troops securing his right flank. Darius reinforces his right wing with cavalry from the left. Observing this, Alexander sends his own Thessalian cavalry to the left wing.

### 04 Into the storm

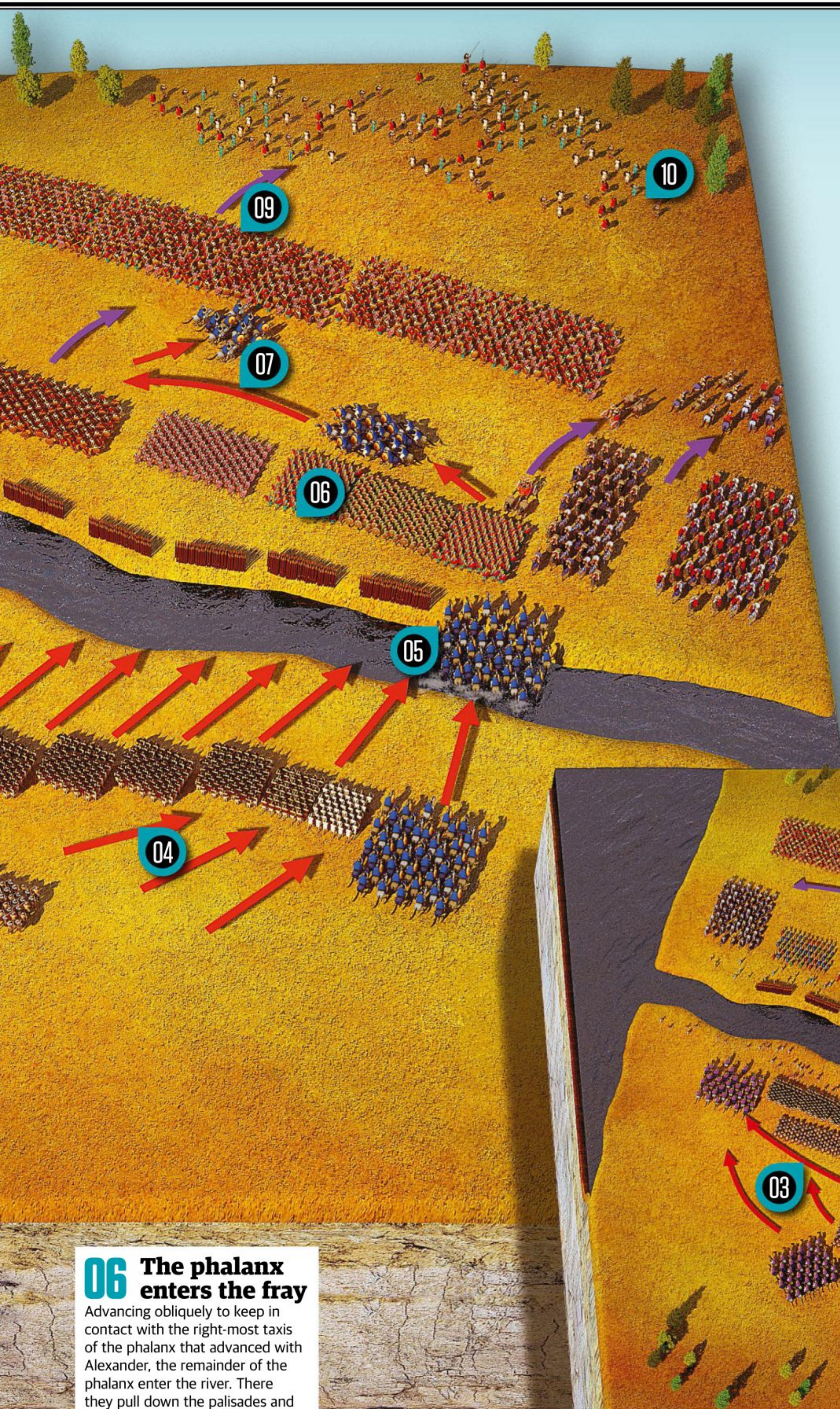
On the Persian right wing, the cavalry charges across the river and engages the cavalry of the Macedonian left. Alexander continues his advance and comes within Persian arrow and missile range. The Persians begin to rain down missiles on the advancing phalanx. The Macedonians approach the river and palisades of the Persians.

### 05 Alexander charges

Taking his Companion cavalry, the Royal Guard, the hypaspists and a single taxis of the phalanx, Alexander charges into the river. His attack drives the Persians from the far bank.







## 06 The phalanx enters the fray

Advancing obliquely to keep in contact with the right-most taxis of the phalanx that advanced with Alexander, the remainder of the phalanx enter the river. There they pull down the palisades and engage with the Persian cardaces and mercenary infantry on the far bank. Most Macedonian casualties occur here. On the Macedonian right, the success of Alexander's charge causes Darius to flee and the remaining cavalry and the Apple-bearers flee with him.

## 07 Turning on the mercenaries

Alexander turns his charge towards the 30,000 Greek mercenaries, commanded by Thimodes and Aristomedes who are opposing the left part of the phalanx still in the river. This charge relieves the pressure on the units of the phalanx still in the river fighting a stalemate with the Greek mercenaries opposing them.

## 10 Counting the cost

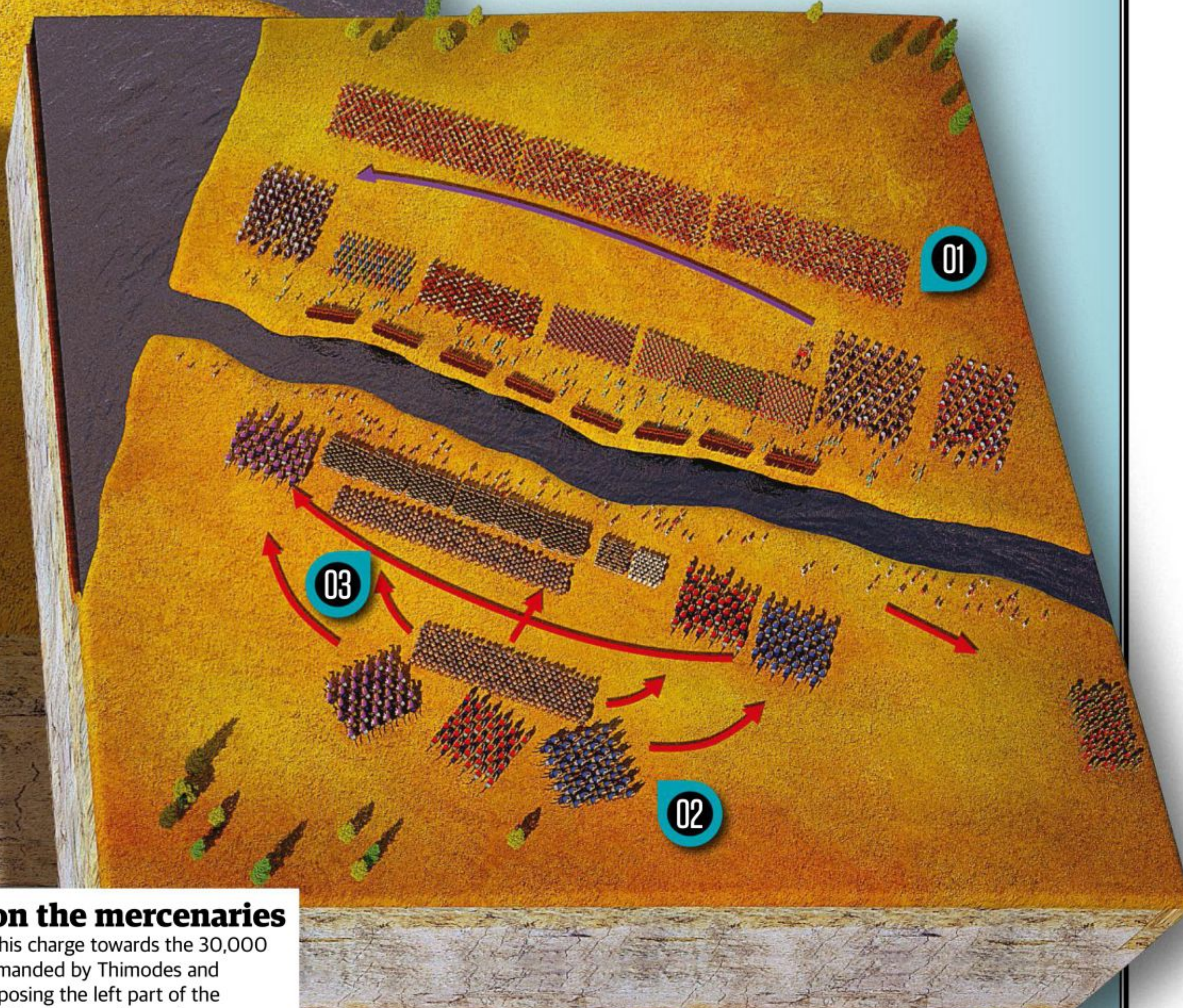
In addition to the huge numbers of casualties inflicted, Alexander also gains possession of Darius' camp. The rout of the Persians was so complete that Alexander captured Darius' mother, wife, and three children. Darius' war chest had been sent to Damascus but that too will soon be in Alexander's hands. Alexander has faced the Persian king for the first time and shown, decisively, how superior he and his Macedonians are.

## 09 General rout

The Macedonians pursue the fleeing Persians and inflict huge casualties. There are approximately 110,000 Persians casualties as opposed to the unbelievably low Macedonian losses of only 32 infantry, 150 cavalry and 504 wounded. Darius flees from the battle on his chariot and then on horseback. Alexander's pursuit has to wait until the mercenaries are defeated. Alexander then pursues the king until midnight but Darius is able to escape.

## 08 Victory on the left

The cavalry on the Macedonian left, Peloponnesians and Thessalians, commanded by Parmenion, is successful after a long, drawn out, fight. The Persian cavalry opposing them routs and this leads to a general rout of the remaining Persian forces. The mercenaries fighting for the Persians, assaulted on two sides, break and flee as do the huge numbers of troops held in reserve behind the Persian line.





# The 'What If' Newspaper

Japan

Interview by Jonathan O'Callaghan

August 1945

## JAPAN REFUSES TO SURRENDER

Massive invasions by the Americans and the Soviets planned after first ever atomic bomb attacks fail to dent Japan's resolve

### EXCLUSIVE Interview With



**PROFESSOR  
ROBERT PAPE**

Robert Pape is Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago. He is an expert in international security affairs, and in 1993 published a detailed journal article on Japan's surrender in WWII.

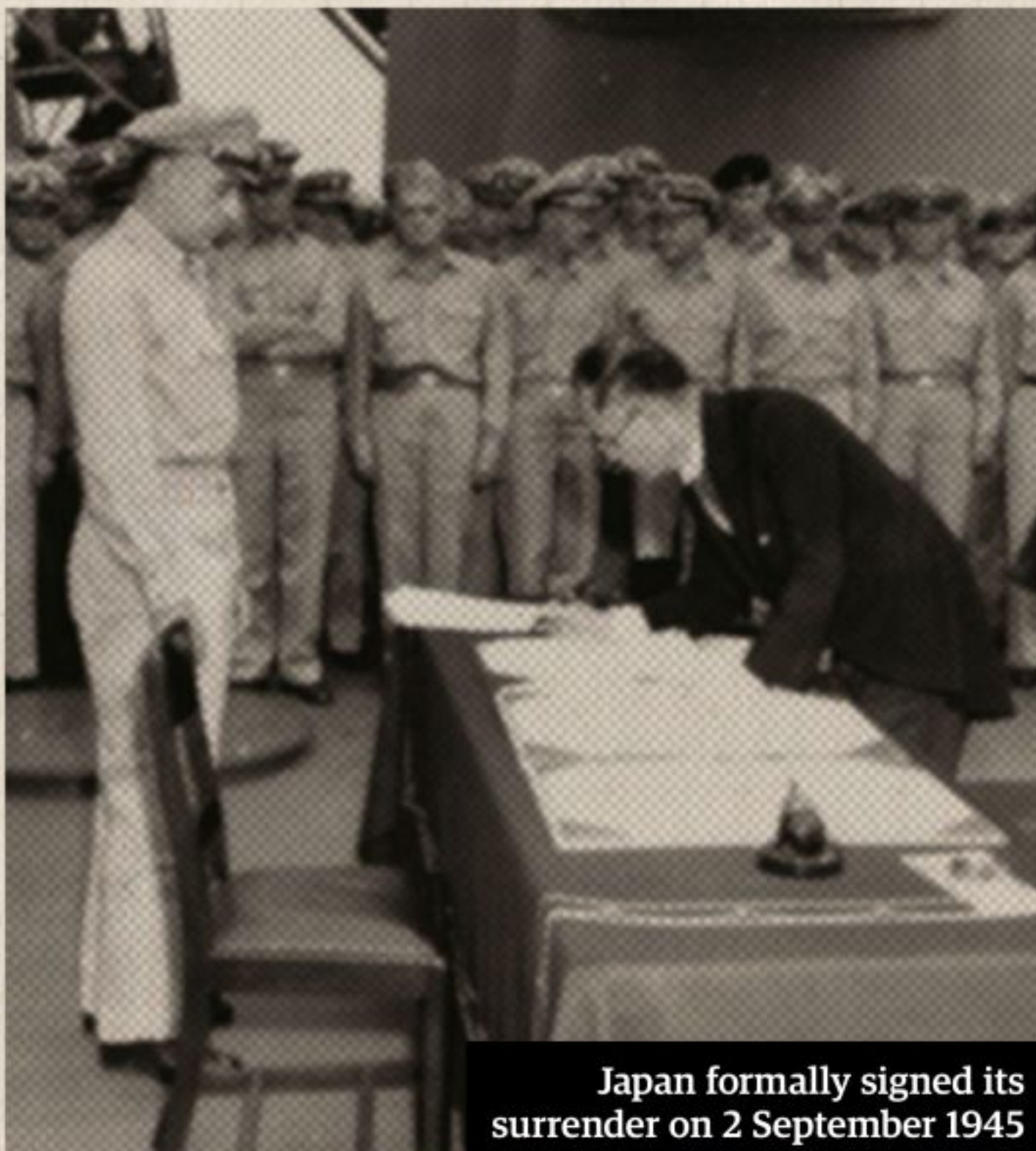
#### **What was the background to the US dropping two atomic bombs on Japan in August 1945?**

We defeated Germany in the spring of 1945 and then started to really focus on Japan. That became the main theatre of war. And as the summer continued, it became clear that the city bombings of

Japan and the military pressures that we were putting Japan under were not going to be enough. It wasn't clear exactly what the future was going to be. And we had meetings with the Soviets at Potsdam in July, and it became very clear that the Soviets were going to launch a ground defence within Manchuria against the

Japanese army. And that set of meetings then essentially made it clear that if the United States was going to play a role, that it was the atomic bomb that was really going to be the option here.

**Why did Japan announce its decision to surrender on 15 August 1945?**



Japan formally signed its surrender on 2 September 1945

### INVASION OF JAPAN TO BE "BIGGER THAN D-DAY"



Supreme Commander Douglas MacArthur has indicated that the scale of the operation to invade and force the surrender to end the war will be the biggest seen in the conflict to date. Taking its cues from Eisenhower's celebrated Normandy landings, a combined Allied invasion of mainland Japan is now looking more and more likely and will involve more ships and men than we saw land in France in 1944.



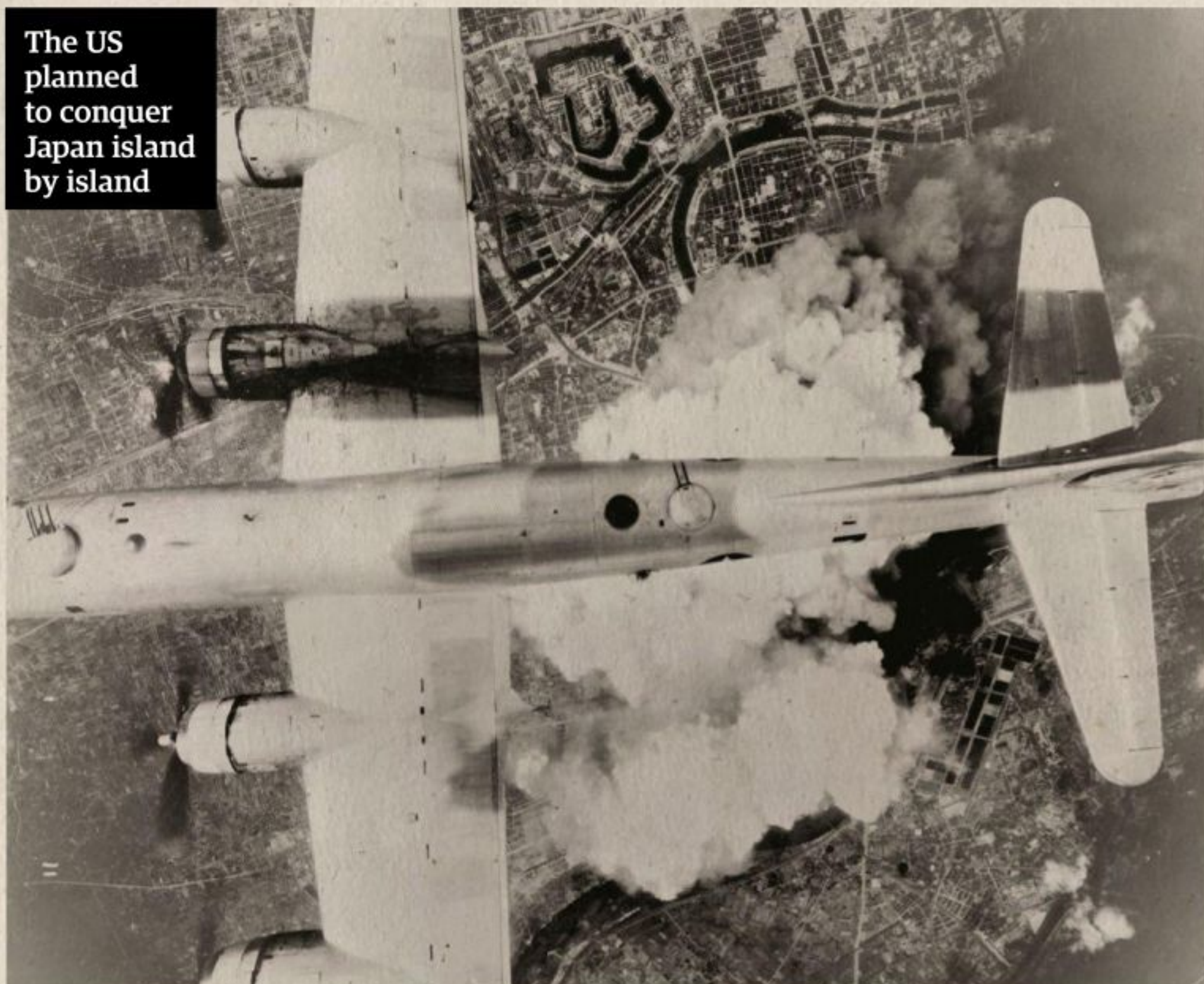
Atomic bombs  
were dropped  
on Hiroshima  
and Nagasaki



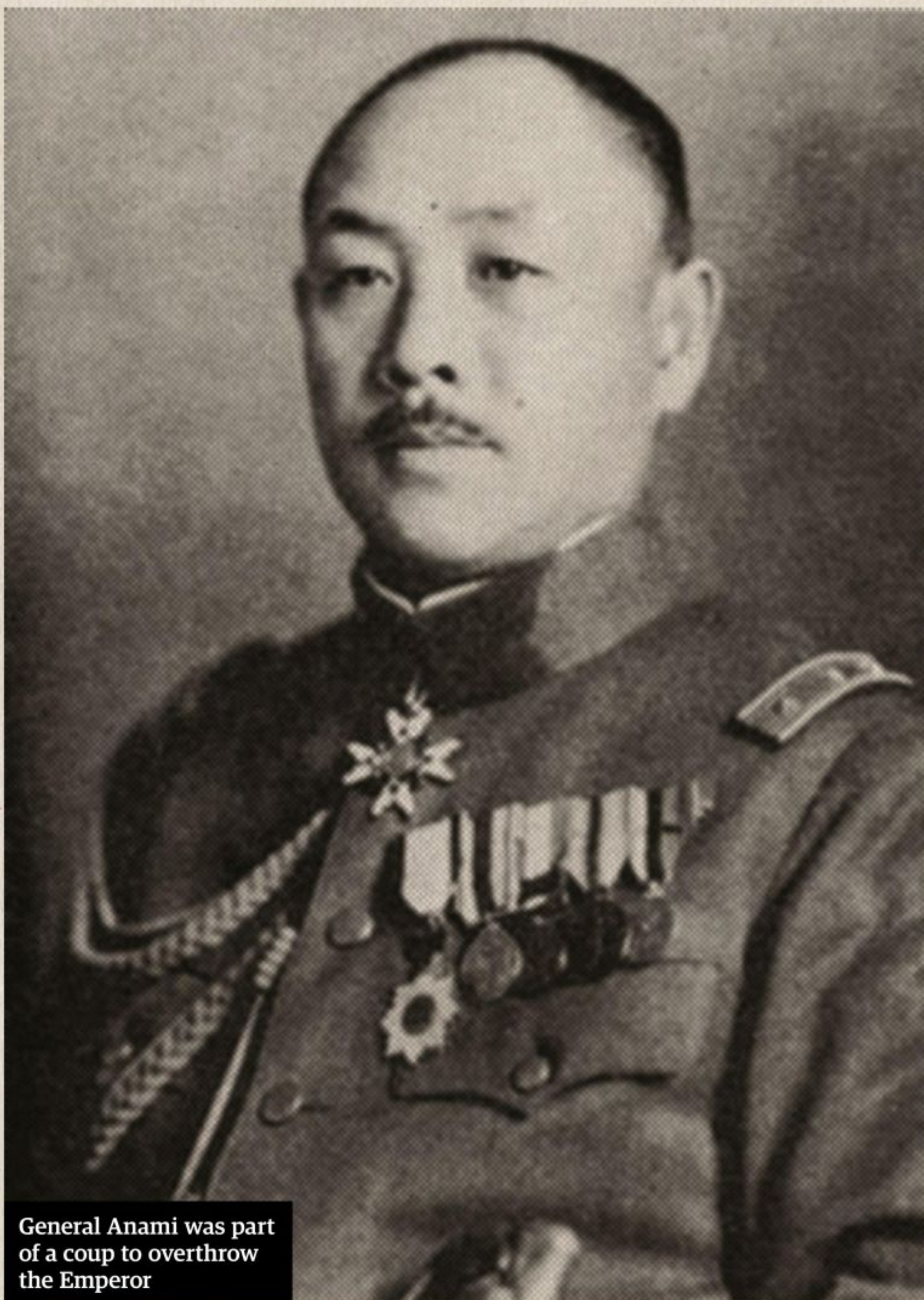


# The 'What If' Newspaper

The US  
planned  
to conquer  
Japan island  
by island



**“There weren’t the atomic bombs to drop. The US only had two more”**



General Anami was part  
of a coup to overthrow  
the Emperor

The first atomic bomb actually is not generating much pressure on the Japanese political leaders to surrender. The key obstacle it turns out, which we did not know at the time, was the Japanese army. [Korechika] Anami, the top general of the Japanese army, was the most resistant to any surrender. And, after we dropped the first bomb on Hiroshima, there's actually a continued logjam. And then on the night of 8 August, that's when the Soviet Union launches this massive invasion into Manchuria. And it is just a crushing blow. They just are piercing right through the Japanese army like a hot knife through butter, and within hours [the Japanese army is] just cut to pieces. They're not able to put up any organised resistance. About 12 hours after the Soviet invasion happened, that's when we dropped the second bomb and that's when Anami stops putting up resistance. He essentially stopped vetoing the surrender. It's Anami's decision that really leads to the surrender, and that veto is tightly linked to the Soviet invasion.

## **How did Japan's surrender play out?**

[After the Soviet invasion] the whole plan for the home island defence now was completely worthless. And that's when Anami just simply stops resisting. And then he goes even further about a day later, because the Japanese army had a plan that if the Emperor were to surrender without their agreement, that they were going to kill the Emperor and replace them with Anami. Well, Anami commits hara-kiri [a form of suicide], and that prevents the military plan from being executed. He decapitates that plan so that the surrender actually happens. And then on 15 August, that's when the Emperor announces the surrender. And it's a really important event that speech for the surrender, because all the resistance essentially ends. That's really the turning point where there's just no resistance.

## **What would the Americans have done if Japan hadn't surrendered?**

We know what would have happened in the very next month or so. There are four home islands of Japan. Kyushu is the southernmost island. That was going to be the target of the first invasion. And that was going to happen sometime in that early fall, 1945, had Japan not surrendered. When the Soviets invaded Manchuria and just wiped [the Japanese army] to pieces, this showed that the entire Japanese army's plan for homeland

defence was just a non-starter. Japan fully realised that [the Americans] were building an invasion force. We were doing an island-hopping campaign, and we were bringing to bear hundreds of thousands of troops that were going to be invading the home islands in just a short period of time, and Kyushu was the next target.

## **What would have happened next?**

Had we invaded Kyushu, the US military did estimates of how long it would take, what the resistance would be and also the American casualties that would result from the invasion and occupation of Kyushu. And essentially 50,000 Americans would likely have died just to take Kyushu. Hundreds of thousands of Japanese would have died in that. Then what would have likely happened after that is the brute force conquest island by island of the four islands, where Honshu would probably have been next, where Tokyo is and so forth. There has been speculation ever since we dropped the bomb of what the American casualties would have been to take Honshu, and the numbers that are bandied about are like a half million Americans dead. But that's more of a guesstimate than an actual estimate, because the detailed planning for taking Honshu had not happened yet.

## **Would the US have dropped more atomic bombs?**

Well, we only had two more, so we had a limited stockpile. We only were going to have two more bombs by December 1945. People who don't know the historical details of the case would just naturally assume, oh America could drop dozens or hundreds of atomic bombs on Japan. In fact, American opinion polls at the time when Japan surrendered [showed] that 22 or 25 per cent of Americans wanted us to keep bombing using the atomic bombs even after Japan surrendered, because we were pretty angry about Pearl Harbor. But there weren't the bombs to drop. There were two more, but it would have taken many months here to produce a large number of atomic bombs. And we had already destroyed most of the cities anyway. So, by the time we dropped the atomic bombs, half of the cities' urban area had already been completely erased and obliterated by firebombings.

## **Would there have been a race to conquer Japan between the Soviet Union and the US, similar to the race to Berlin in Germany?**



# WHAT IF JAPAN HADN'T SURRENDERED IN 1945?



A slower race, yeah. Just as we are doing amphibious landings on the home islands, the Soviets would be in a position of taking control of large parts of the Japanese-controlled mainland, and then do their own amphibious landings as well. It would've been a months-long slogging campaign, six to eight months at a minimum, to move through those four home islands. And that would've been true for either the American side or the Soviet side. And it's something that would have been a massive undertaking, because amphibious operations are just fantastically difficult to do. We had to do one giant amphibious operation in Europe, that was in Normandy at Omaha Beach. The Japanese theatre is a whole series of amphibious operation after amphibious operation.

## Would we have seen a divided Japan like we saw a divided Germany?

It's possible. The risk of direct conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union would have been much more direct, because given that the Soviets would have to do amphibious operations and we have a very significant navy and naval blockade of Japan. What we would be doing as we're taking Kyushu is we would be tightening the blockade around the four home islands even tighter. And that would not only prevent any access of shipping into Japan, but it would also directly impede any possible amphibious operation by the Soviets. So I think that what you would have seen is, unlike

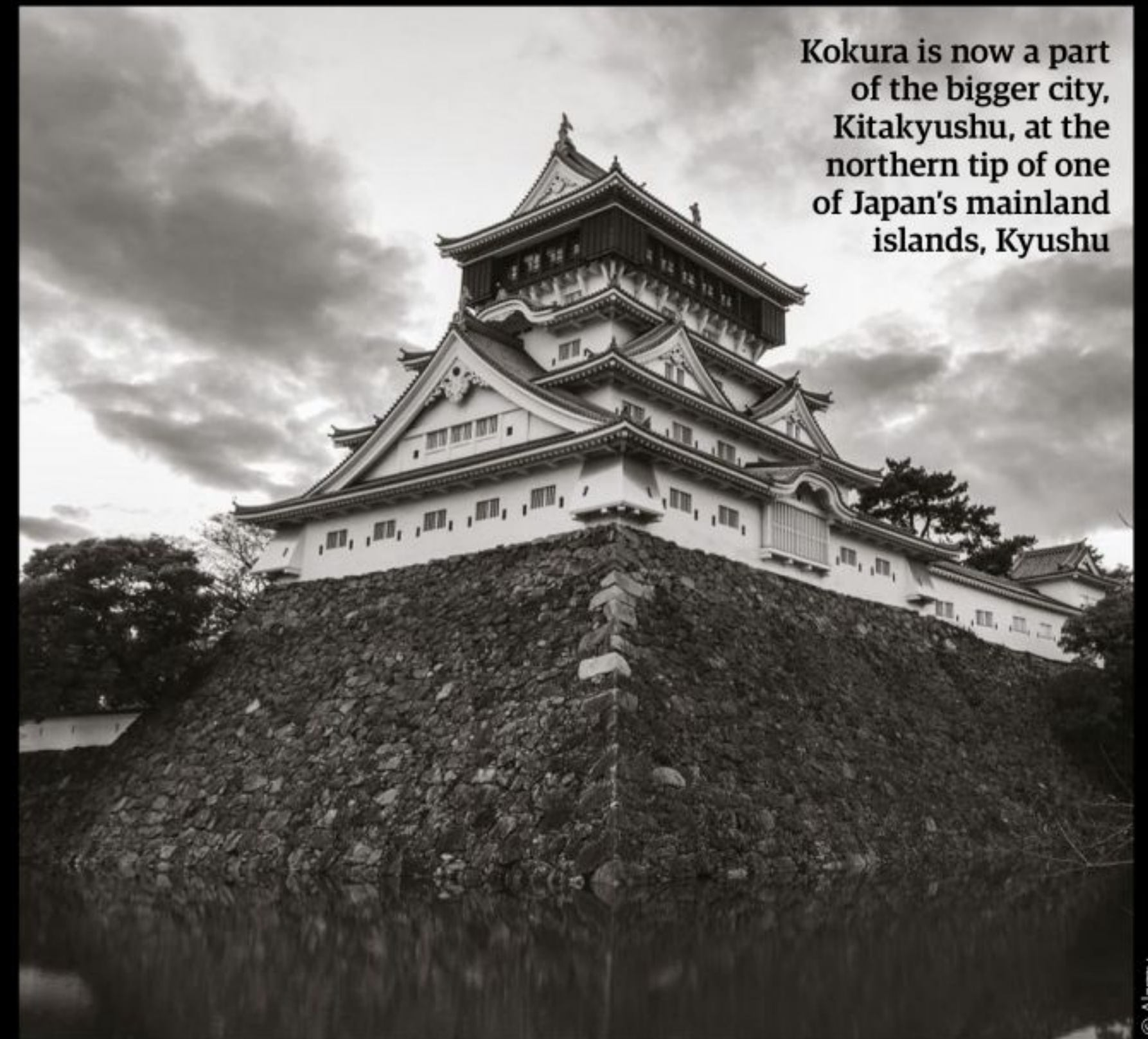
what's happening in the race to Berlin [at] the middle of Germany, where there's no possibility of Americans shooting Soviets, I think the risk here of a real confrontation with the Soviets is much more real. So rather than a divided Japan like you saw a divided West Germany and East Germany, I think it's more that there could have been more direct confrontation with the Soviets.

## What impact would this have had on Europe?

The United States after the surrender of Japan could refocus a lot of its efforts on Europe, which is what we did. However, had we not, had we had to have that brute force island-by-island conquest of Japan, that would have created a real tension between dealing with Japan and then shifting over to Europe. It would have kept our focus on the Far East and it would've done that for many months, if not several years. I think that you would have had much less economic focus on Western Europe. I think this would've put at risk the Marshall Plan. It would have opened the door to much more Soviet influence in Western Europe than actually occurred. And even the whole idea that NATO would have come together in 1949, it just raises lots of questions about whether that would have actually happened. That whole giant effort to forcibly conquer the Japanese home islands would have had some pretty big reverberations in terms of the history of Europe.

## The City That Escaped

The Allies had multiple plans for further use of nuclear weapons should the attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki not be enough to force Japan to surrender. One of the cities at the top of the list was Kokura. In fact, it would have been the target for the bomb that was ultimately used to decimate Nagasaki, 'Fat Man', but cloud cover on the day meant that the plane was redirected. Had there been cloud cover of Hiroshima, Kokura would have been the backup for 'Little Boy' as well. So it was that thanks to weather on both occasions the old castle city of Kokura was spared from being destroyed and Japanese surrender ultimately secured its safety from further Allied attacks.

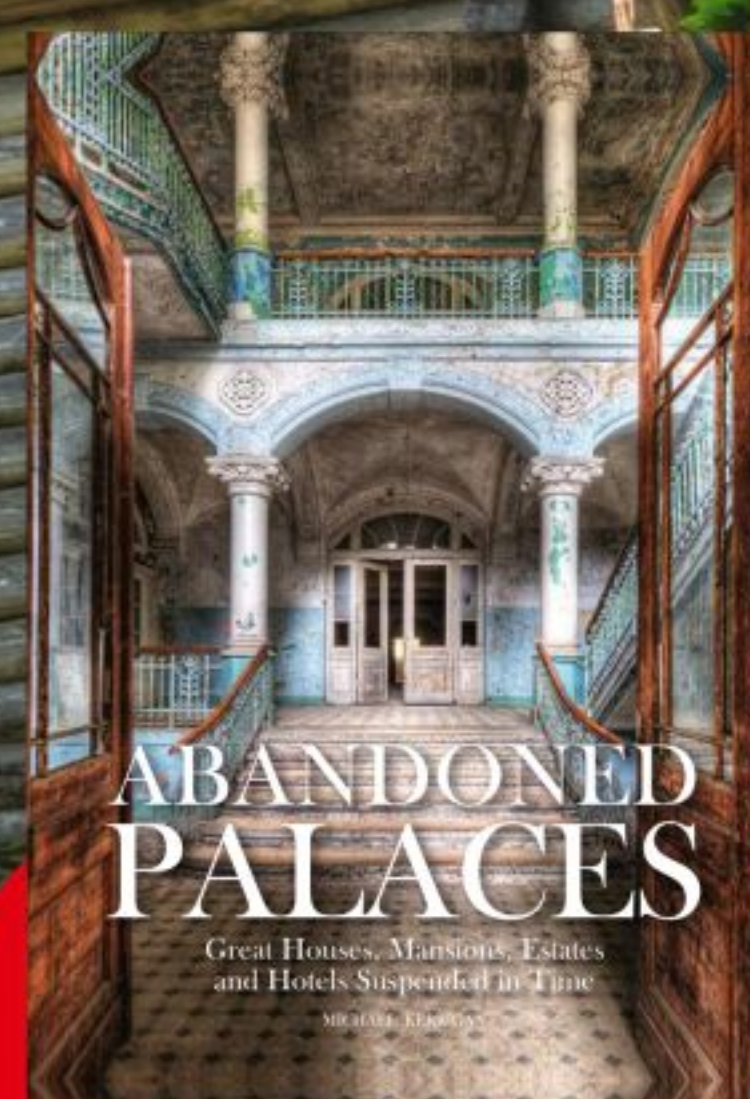


## TENSIONS RISING BETWEEN USA AND USSR

Despite their nations having been allies for nearly four years, tensions appear to be rising between President Harry Truman and General Secretary Joseph Stalin as the war drags on in the Pacific. Both the US and USSR are now vying for power and influence in the war-torn region.







**Abandoned Palaces**  
by Michael Kerrigan is  
available now from  
Amber Books Ltd

# FORGOTTEN RUINS

Behold the forgotten historical sites that serve as our gateway to the past

**W**hen it comes to historic ruins, most people will think about the breathtaking buildings of history's great civilisations, such as the Colosseum, Pompeii and Machu Picchu. Steeped in many years worth of history, these sites continue to draw millions of visitors, eager to see the sites that have fascinated the world. However, sitting quietly

in the background are hundreds of decaying historical buildings that are equally awe-inspiring and rich in history.

*Abandoned Palaces*, written by Michael Kerrigan and published by Amber Books Ltd, explores more than 130 overlooked ruins of abandoned mansions, great houses, estates and hotels hidden away in their less celebrated locations. Surviving the ravages

of natural disasters, human destruction and abandonment, these dilapidated buildings remain today as poignant reminders of the past, each one with a unique heritage for you to uncover. Here we take a look at eight examples from the book, offering you the chance to not only witness centuries worth of wear and tear, but also discover the small stories that, until now, were lost to history.



## FAIRYTALE FORTRESS

This is the abandoned chapel inside Reinhardtsbrunn Castle in Friedrichroda, Thuringia, Germany, which has been left severely dilapidated after years of neglect. The castle, which was rebuilt in 1827, is also known as 'Rapunzel's Castle' thanks to the neo-gothic tower from which Rapunzel could have let down her hair.



© Alexey Grachev/Shutterstock

## A WARM WELCOME

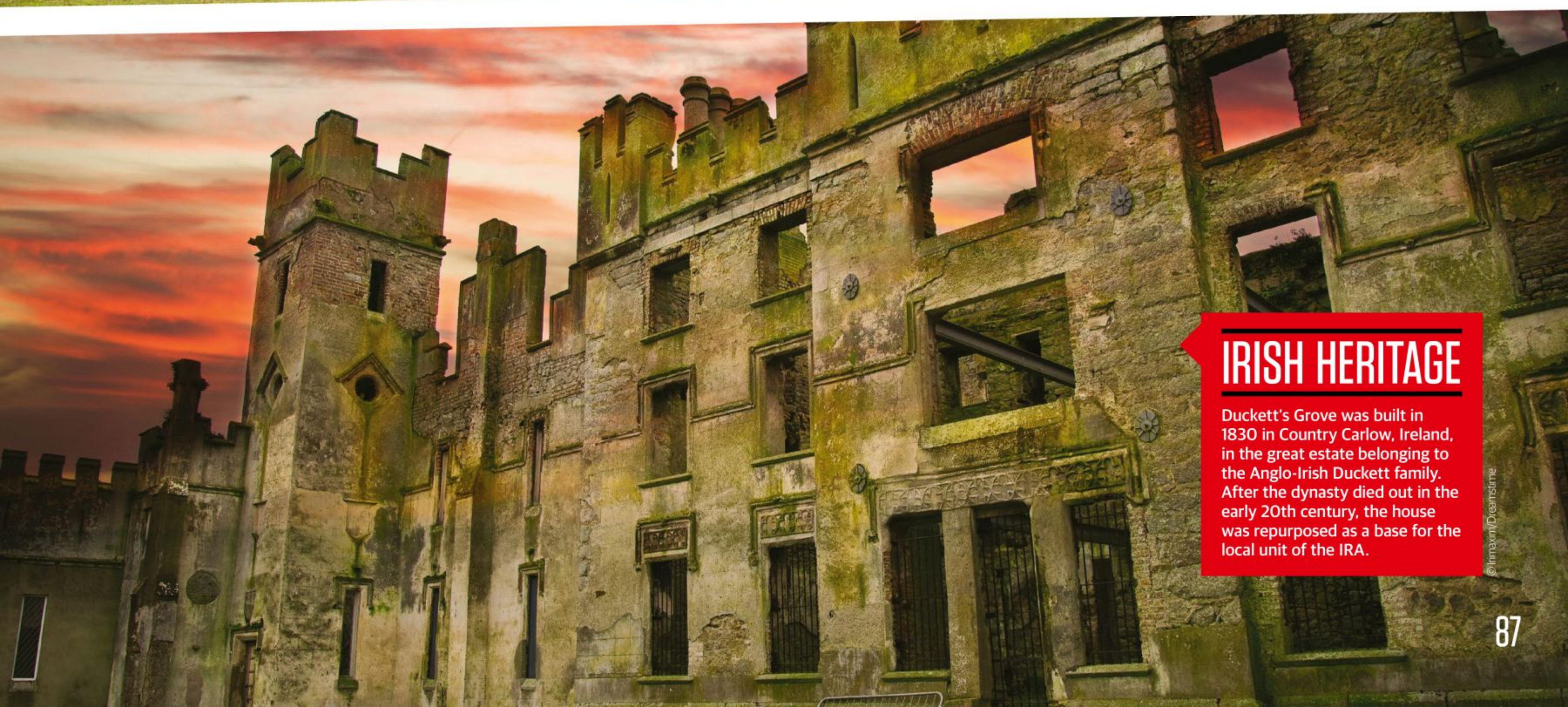
Vir Singh Deo, the ruler of Orchha, built the Jahangir Mahal for Mughal Emperor Jahangir's visit to his city in 1610. Intricately decorated inside and out, with beautiful paintings, carvings, large domes and latticed windows, the once elegant palace also doubled as a fortress with windowless walls on the ground floor.



© Wa/Shutterstock

## IRISH HERITAGE

Duckett's Grove was built in 1830 in County Carlow, Ireland, in the great estate belonging to the Anglo-Irish Duckett family. After the dynasty died out in the early 20th century, the house was repurposed as a base for the local unit of the IRA.



© Imma van/Dreamstime





## THROUGH HISTORY

### STILL STANDING

The 12th century Havré Castle in Mons, Belgium, may be in ruins now but it famously survived the sieges of Don Juan of Austria and the Duke of Anjou in 1578. Heavily damaged by a fire in 1579, it was transformed into a magnificent country house during the 17th century and then abandoned two centuries later.

### LEFT IN TATTERS

The ruins of Saddam Hussein's palace in Babil Governorate, Iraq, serve as a reminder of his fallen regime. The Babylonian-style residence was supposedly a replica of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II, but the designs of the Mesopotamian monument have been lost for centuries.



## FORGOTTEN RUINS

### IMPRESSIVE INNOVATION

Opened in 1904 in Los Realejos, Tenerife, the Gordejuela Water Elevator was designed to pump fresh water from the springs to the banana plantations on the hills. Powered using the region's first steam engine, it was closed after just 15 years and has since fallen into ruin.

© Christian Balazs/Shutterstock

### NATURAL DISASTER

The Presidential Palace in Port au Prince, Haiti, was severely damaged following the earthquake that devastated the country in January 2010. The palace's collapsed cupola is symbolic of Haiti's troubles, with the country struggling to recover nine years after the catastrophe.

© iStockphoto

### TUMULTUOUS TIMES

Located in the village of Pidhirtsi, Ukraine, Pidhirtsi Castle was built for Polish military commander and royal counsellor Stanislaw Koniecpolski during the 1630s. Looted and damaged in WWI before it was transformed into a sanatorium, the castle was damaged by a fire in the 1950s and its eerie remains have awaited restoration ever since.

© Laleh Stock/Shutterstock



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# On the Menu TUH'U

## Did you know?

Tablet YBC 4644 has recipes for 25 different broths, four of which are vegetarian

### Ingredients

- 250 - 350g diced lamb leg
- 250g cooked beetroot, peeled and diced
- 225ml beer (if you prefer, you can use non-alcoholic)
- 225ml water
- 1 small onion, chopped
- 2 cloves of garlic, crushed
- 60g leek, chopped
- 125g rocket, chopped
- 30g coriander, chopped (plus some extra for garnish)
- ¾ tsp cumin
- ¾ tsp salt
- 2 tbsp of oil
- 2 tbsp of butter



## A HEARTY BROTH THAT HAS SURVIVED THE AGES ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA , C. 1750 – 1700 BCE

**A**mong Yale University's cuneiform tablet collection, there are three tablets from the Old Babylonian period that contain recipes written in Akkadian. Over 3,700 years old, they are cited as the oldest cookbooks in the world and are luckily rather well preserved, with several recipes translated by the late Assyriologist and distinguished chef, Jean Bottéro. The recipe for Tuh'u, a beetroot broth made with lamb meat, was taken from tablet YBC 4644 but unfortunately, the simple recipe does not offer timings or measurements and some of the ingredients are unknown to us, so it is difficult to replicate the broth accurately. As a result, a few modern versions of the recipe - like this one - have been developed to suit our kitchens today.

### METHOD

- 01** Before starting, make sure all of the vegetables have been washed and prepared in advance. Place a large pot on the hob on a high heat and add in the oil and butter.
- 02** Once the butter is melted, add in the diced lamb and sear it on all sides, making sure to stir the meat so that it does not become stuck to the bottom of the pot. Add in the onion and stir until it is nice and soft.
- 03** Next, add the beetroot, rocket, coriander, cumin and salt to the pot and stir for 2 minutes, until the ingredients are mixed together nicely.
- 04** Pour in the beer and water and bring the pot to

a boil. Once the broth is boiling, turn the heat down to medium and allow it to simmer for about 10 minutes.

- 05** Add the garlic and leeks to the pot then bring it to the boil again, making sure to give it a good stir. Reduce the heat to low and let the broth simmer for an hour, allowing the mixture to thicken.

- 06** After an hour, the Tuh'u is ready to be eaten. Serve in bowls with a sprinkle of coriander on top for garnish. If you want to, you can add a piece of crusty bread on the side to complete the dish!

Did you make it? Let us know!



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# REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

## 1917: WAR, PEACE, & REVOLUTION



An in-depth appraisal of a truly pivotal year

**Author** David Stevenson **Publisher** Oxford University Press **Price** £14.99 **Released** Out now

Originally published in hardback in 2017, Oxford University Press has now released the paperback version of David Stevenson's masterful study.

Stevenson has written extensively on World War I, including a similar study of 1918

(*With Our Backs To The Wall: Victory And Defeat In 1918*). In that book he focused his attention on the stunning turnaround in the fortunes of the Allied powers, who were facing a devastating defeat at the beginning of 1918. In this book, which could be considered a prequel, he looks at how they got into such a mess in the first place.

The story of 1917 is one of immense international events, each of which could easily merit a book in its own right. The German U-boat

campaign, the entry of America into the war, the Russian Revolution, disastrous Allied offensives – all have been the subject of entire volumes. Even single battles like Passchendaele are more than complex enough to keep a historian busy for years.

Stevenson, however, has tackled all of these events at the same time, pulling together the disparate elements into a narrative of one remarkable and, in many ways, terrifying year. Stevenson teaches the history of international relations at the London School of Economics & Political Science and is well placed to tackle

such a mammoth undertaking. Still, there is so much material to marshal that at times the amount of information thrown at the reader can seem overwhelming.

The story kicks off with Germany's decision to engage in unrestricted submarine warfare. In a fascinating analysis of this mode of conflict, Stevenson delivers some shocking facts. Often depicted as a cat-and-mouse game between destroyer and submarine, in World War I the contest was often very one-sided. Stevenson highlights a period in September 1916, when three U-boats evaded 49 destroyers, 48 torpedo

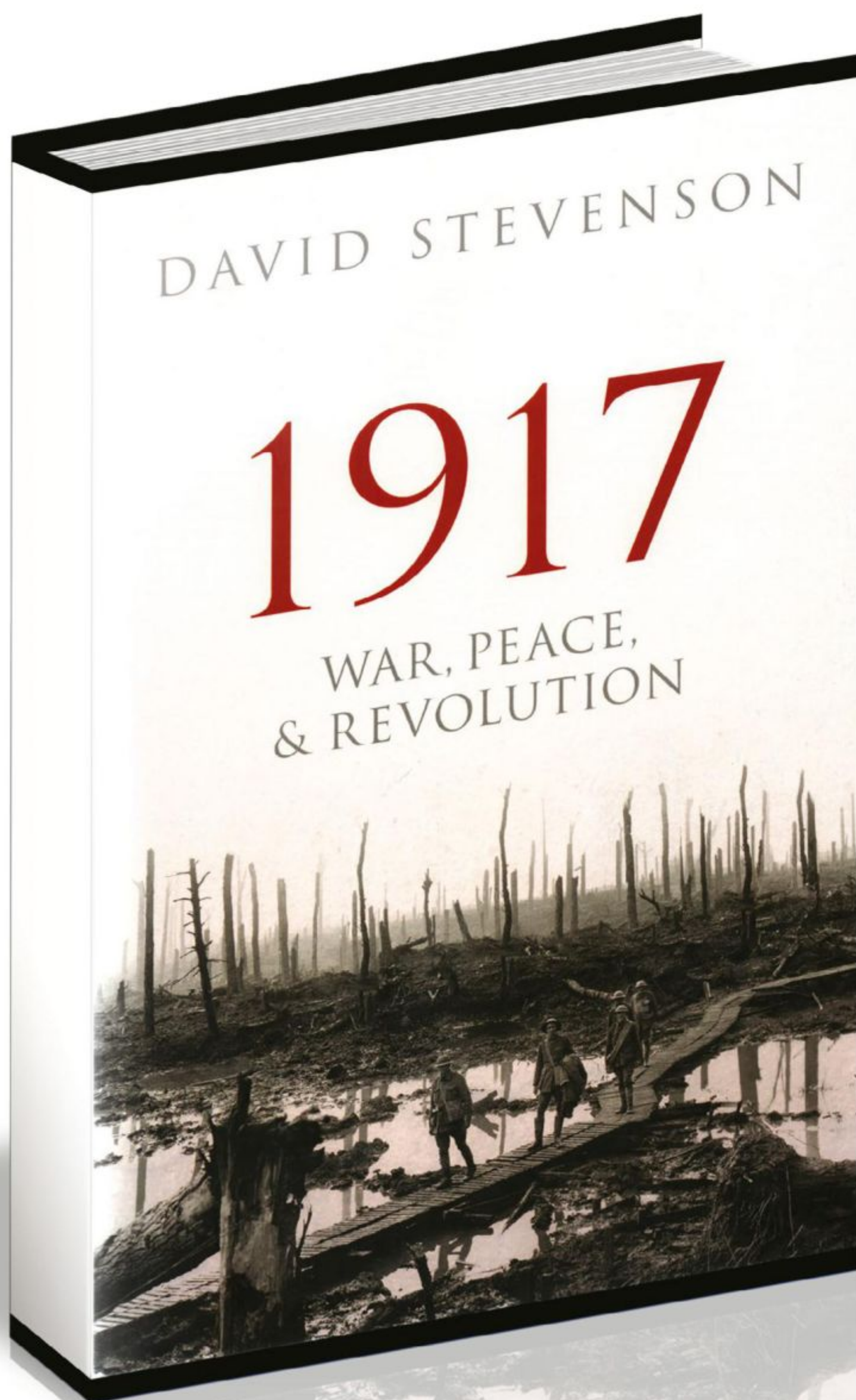
boats and 468 other ships, while sinking more than 30 ships in the English Channel – in a single week.

Despite its title, this book is in no way limited to the events of 1917. Stevenson also considers how these events influenced the world for decades to come. In this respect, there is foreboding everywhere. The Russian summer offensives were so disastrous they sowed the seeds of their own second revolution and ultimate withdrawal from the war. Britain offered 'responsible

government' to India and a Jewish homeland in Palestine was promised. At the same time the American war machine was creaking slowly into life, but few realised at the time that once the American giant had been awakened it would not go back to sleep.

Stevenson handles all of these elements with a sure hand. At times the text can become a little heavy as the author struggles to convey the massive amounts of relevant detail at his fingertips. There is simply so much important information that this is inevitable, but for the most part this is a fascinating study of one of the most tumultuous years of the 20th century.

"The story of 1917 is one of immense events, each of which could merit a book in its own right"







Book



TV



Podcast



Film



Games



Other

**Reviews by**

Martyn Conterio, David Smith, Ben Gazur, Mohammed Barber, Jessica Leggett

# MUDLARKING

The history of a city told from its riverbanks

**Author** Lara Maiklem **Publisher** Bloomsbury Circus**Price** £16.99 **Released** 22 August

**M**udlarking has a long and ignoble history on the river Thames. Once urchins and penniless widows called mudlarks scavenged the foreshore of the river for lost and discarded items they could sell for a pittance. Now historical enthusiasts/mad people wade knee deep into the mud to pull artefacts from the ooze because they are simply fascinating. Lara Maiklem, a leading mudlark, takes us on a tour of London's past based on the items the river washes free with each tide.

Part memoir of the author and part biography of the Thames itself, *Mudlarking* has something to offer for everyone. Historical treasures glitter here just waiting for readers to find. This book will teach you how clay pipes, the most common item in the Thames, were made. You'll learn why a printer took what he

considered to be the perfect font and dumped the lead letters into the river. You will find Roman pottery, Viking combs and silver coins in profusion.

There is a beautiful moment where Maiklem discovers prehistoric acorns from an ancient forest emerging from the foreshore. This not only connects her to prehistory, it also points to an entry in Samuel Pepys' diary where he encountered the same acorns. The Thames offers us a tantalising history with pages written on top of each other.

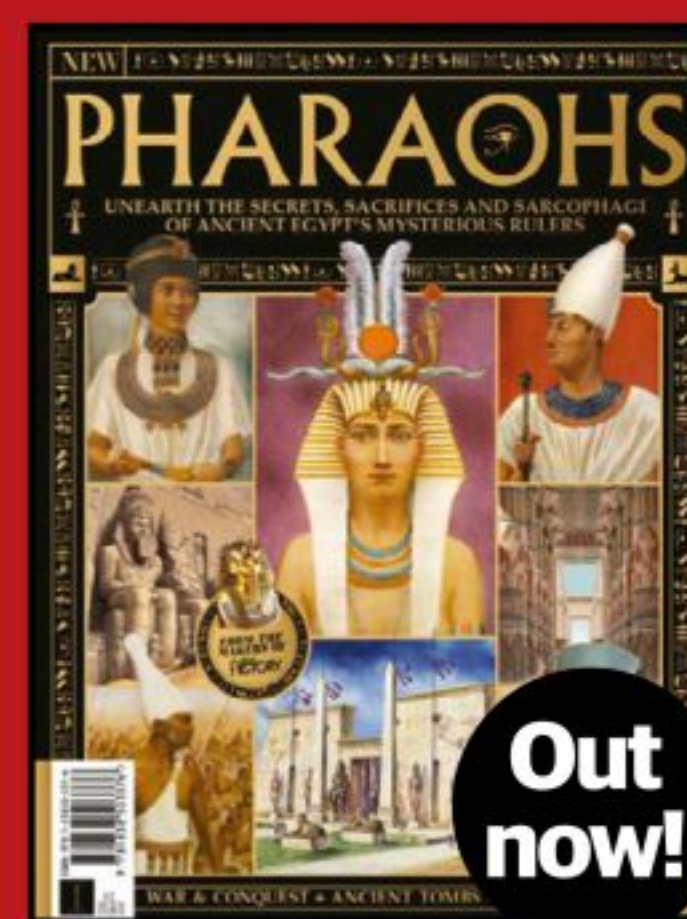
For those without the necessary licence to go mudlarking, or who simply do not want to get their feet wet, this is the ideal introduction to the often overlooked river running through London.



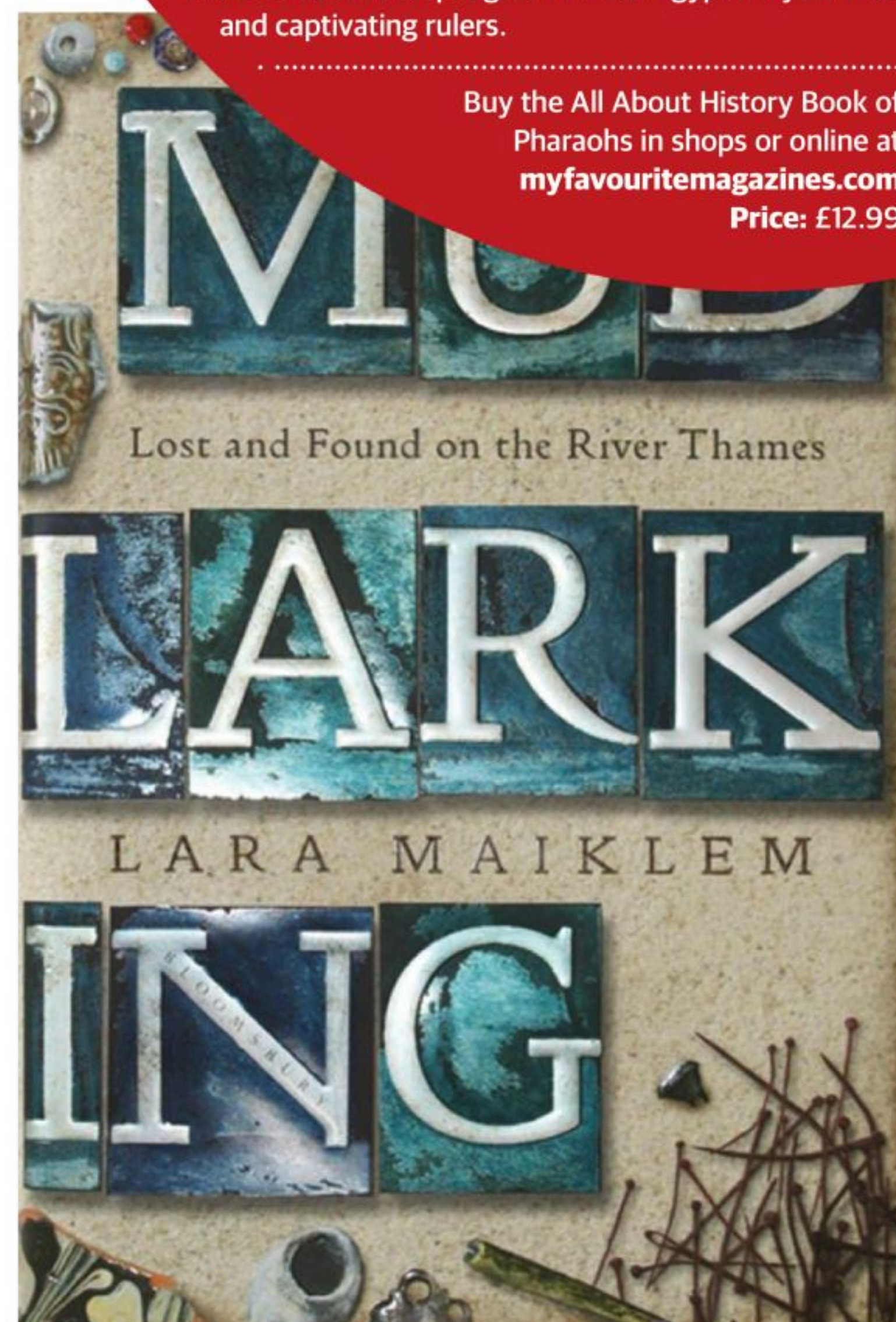
## Pharaohs

In Ancient Egypt the Pharaoh was the heart of both civic and religious life, at times in the nation's long history celebrated and worshipped as a living god. In this new special we take a look at some of the 170 or so pharaohs who ruled the ancient kingdom, how they lived their daily lives and what responsibilities they had for the welfare of their subjects.

From the dynasties of the Old Kingdom to the rise and fall of some of the most famous leaders, this new book delves into the extraordinary world of these fascinating people, unearthing the secrets, sacrifices and sarcophagi of Ancient Egypt's mysterious and captivating rulers.

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## INDECENT ADVANCES



A HIDDEN HISTORY OF  
TRUE CRIME AND PREJUDICE  
BEFORE STONEWALL

**JAMES POLCHIN**

"A chilling, relentless catalog of murders of gay men in the decades of repression. [...] Polchin has done remarkable work in extracting their stories from the newspapers where they lay hidden in plain sight." Luc Sante, author of *Love Life: Lusts and Snares of Old New York*

## INDECENT ADVANCES



A revealing and sad immersion into gay life before Stonewall

**Author** James Polchin **Publisher** Icon Books **Price** £16.99 **Released** Out now

**W**ith the recent and very public exposure of basic errors in Naomi Wolf's book *Outrages* dealing with the criminalisation of homosexuality attracting much attention towards gay history, it is good to announce a thoroughly well-researched and engaging book on the topic.

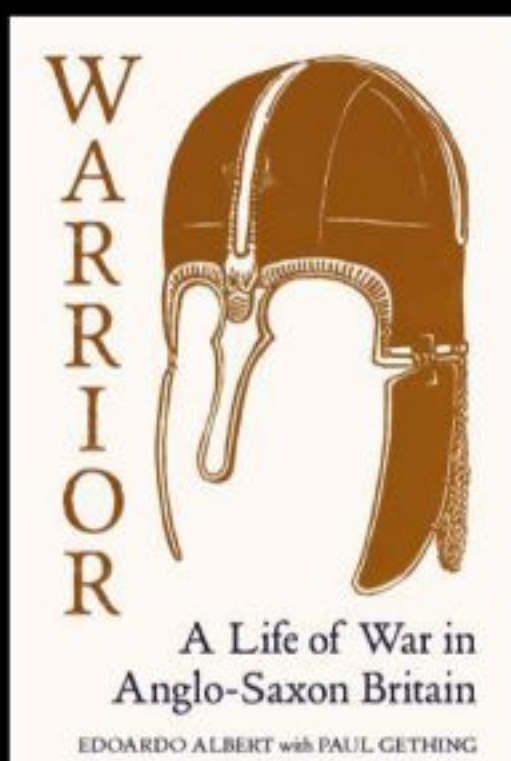
*Indecent Advances* charts the rise of the 'Gay Panic' defence in trials. This is a legal strategy used by those accused of murdering a homosexual where they claim being propositioned by a homosexual drove them to commit the crime. For many juries it was only reasonable for a hot-blooded man in such a position to batter the 'inverted' man to death. As one defending lawyer said: "when a beast attacks you are justified in killing him."

From the fates of the famous murderers Leopold and Loeb to men killed in cheap hotel rooms under fake names, this book covers decades of cases. It is a history as exhaustive as it is depressing.

Given the subject matter this is not a book to be enjoyed yet it opens a door on a time so recent, and yet so far from the modern gay experience, that you cannot help being fascinated. There are so many stories of gay men being attacked for just existing that the book could be twice as long. The lives cut so tragically short are brought vividly to life. With the 50th anniversary of the Stonewall Riots this year it is a reminder of just how much things have changed, and how fragile recently won toleration could be.







## HISTORY WAR RECOMMENDS...

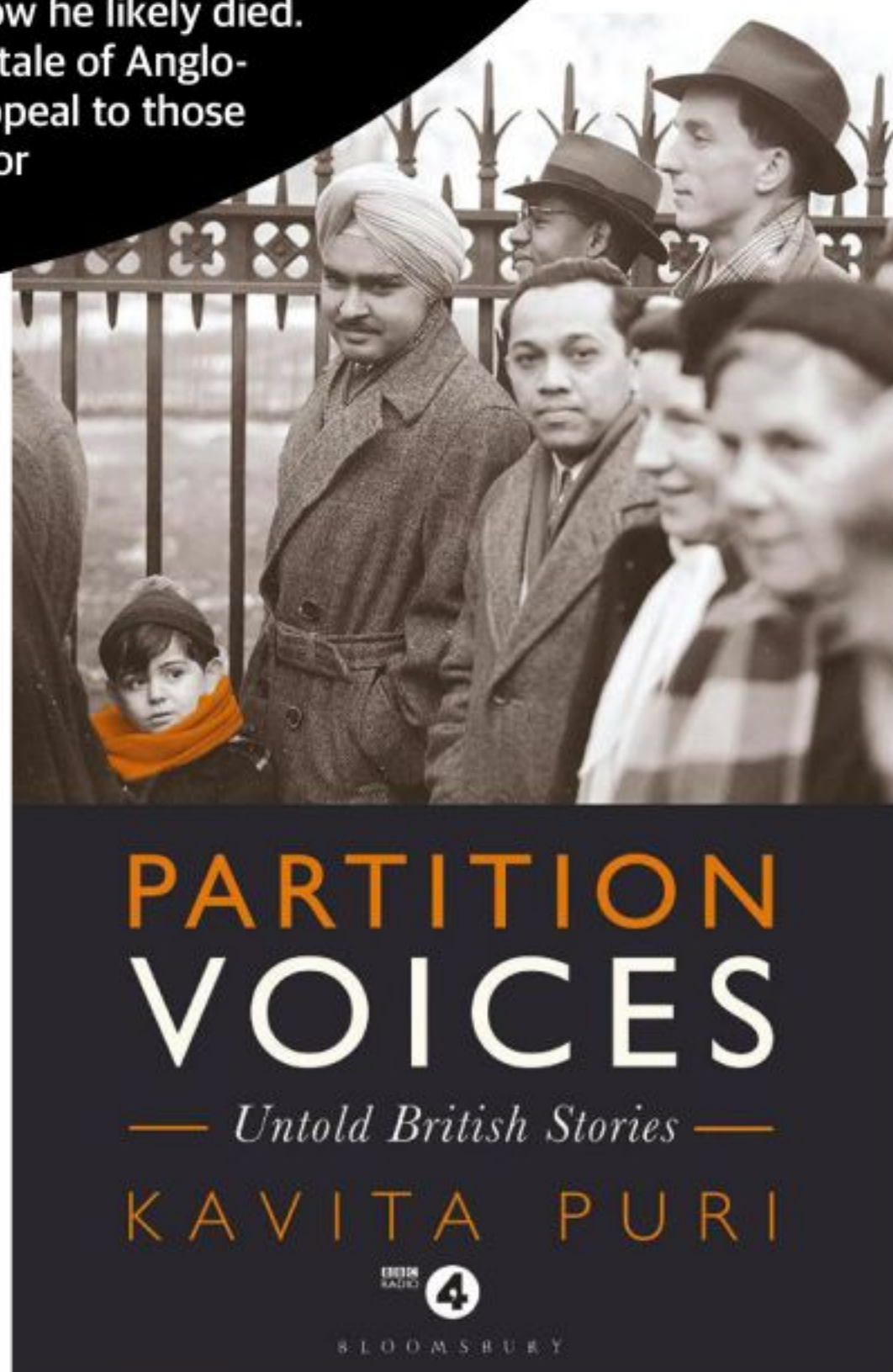
### WARRIOR

**Author** Edoardo Albert and Paul Gething  
**Price** £18.99 **Publisher** Granta Books

**Out  
now!**

Paul Gething, the lead archaeologist of the Bamburgh Castle dig, has teamed up with London-based author Edoardo Albert to bring us the intriguing story of this nameless Anglo-Saxon warrior and the world he lived in. They explore virtually every aspect of the man's life, such as where he may have come from, what kind of food he may have eaten, how he would have fought in battle, and, of course, how he likely died. *Warrior* is an engrossing tale of Anglo-Saxon Britain that will appeal to those interested in the period or archaeology in general.

"Puri's excellent book is a welcome antidote to British amnesia over its colonial legacy"



## PARTITION VOICES: STORIES OF SURVIVAL, LOSS AND BELONGING



After 70 years of silence, partition's remaining witnesses speak out

**Author** Kavita Puri **Publisher** Bloomsbury Publishing

**Price** £20 **Released** Out now

**A**fter ruling for nearly 400 years, Lord Louis Mountbatten chose to fast-track Britain's withdrawal from the Indian subcontinent in just three months. The decision proved deadly. Fifteen million were displaced and perhaps one million were killed. The horrors of partition echo through the decades to this day.

The numbers are barely fathomable and yet, as Puri rightly states, behind every statistic is a story. A great many kept their silence, including Puri's own father, only sharing their experiences now. After reading the accounts, you'll understand why.

Puri gives a very brief overview of the politics, and focuses instead on the human collateral damage of partition. In addition to British south Asians, the memories of

'Britishers' ie white Britons who settled in British India, have also been recorded. The one thing that binds all these accounts together is their fond recollections of India, their yearning for a time lost.

*Partition Voices* makes for a harrowing read. People that lived side-by-side for generations turned on each other in an orgy of murder, rape and violence. Having said that, stories of communities shielding one another at intense risk to themselves also shine through.

Puri's excellent book is a welcome antidote to British amnesia over its colonial legacy. Partition is not just an Indian story, it is a British one too.



## THE WALLS HAVE EARS



The top-secret plan to unmask Nazi secrets

**Author** Helen Fry **Publisher** Yale University Press **Price** £18.99  
**Released** Out now

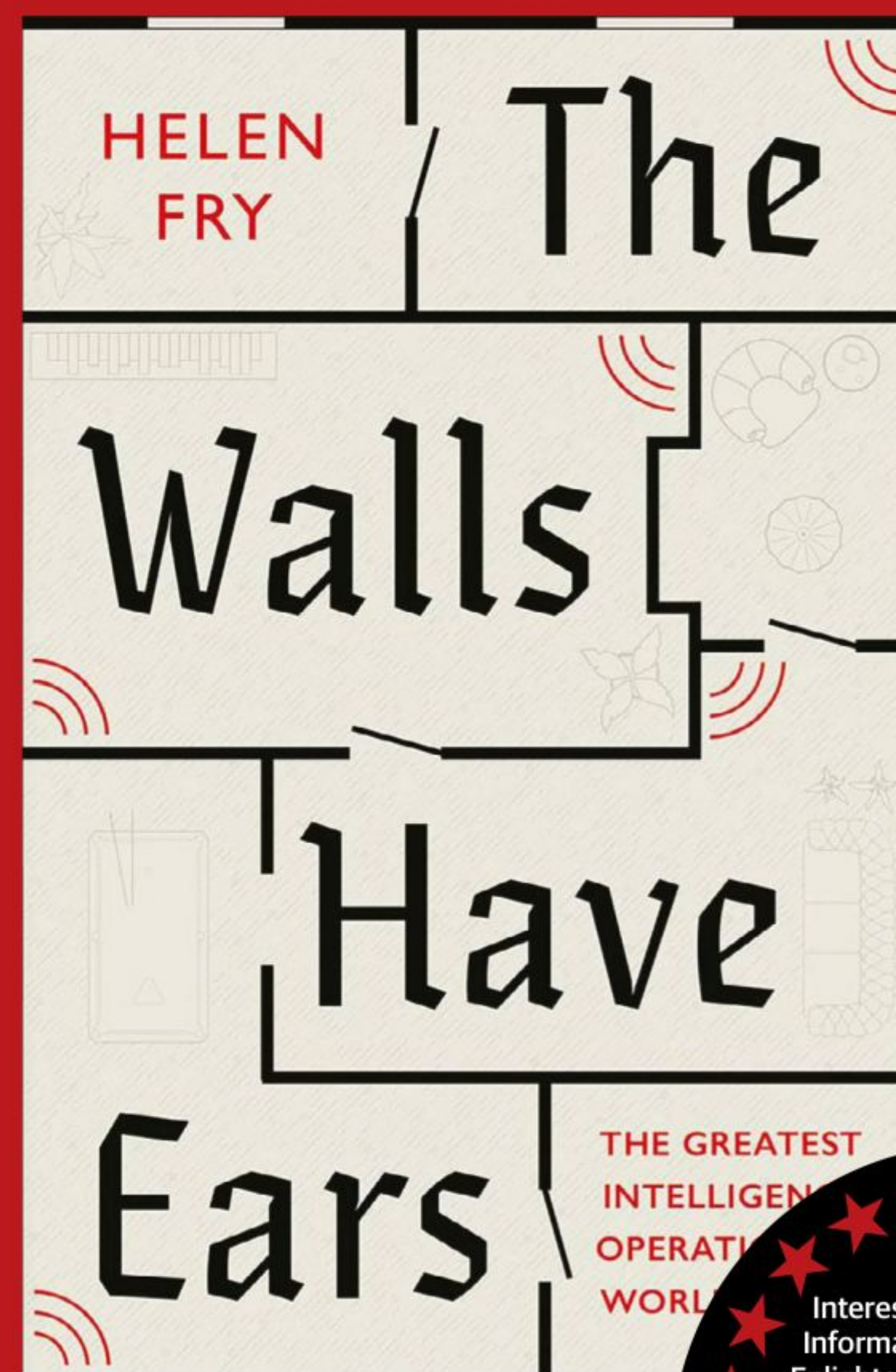
**I**n 2004, at least 100,000 conversations held at the National Archives, recorded and transcribed by a British intelligence operation during WWII, were declassified for the first time. They are the result of a top-secret operation to record the private conversations of German prisoners, revealing vital information for the war effort.

As Dr Fry explores in her latest book, MI6's spymaster in chief, Thomas Joseph Kendrick, started the operation at the Tower of London. Placing hidden microphones throughout the prisoner cells, including in the light fixtures and fireplaces, operatives recorded and transcribed any information deemed valuable. With the prisoners perceiving their interrogators to be stupid, many of them opened up in private when left alone in their

cells - in some cases, their 'countrymen' were actually stool pigeons.

To encourage the high-ranking Germans to speak more freely, they were often wined and dined and revealed critical information regarding Germany's army, navy, air force and weaponry, including the V1 and V2 rockets, and divulging the existence of Nazi war crimes. The operation was so successful that a further three sites were opened.

With those involved in the operation made to sign the Official Secrets Act, their contribution to the war is only just coming to light now. With extensive footnotes and a long bibliography, it is clear that Fry has put a great deal of research into this readable and fascinating piece of British history, which certainly deserves further exploration.







# HORRIBLE HISTORIES: THE MOVIE ROTTEN ROMANS



Boudica fights the Romans, in this irreverent, ribald and riotous comedy

**Certificate** PG **Director** Dominic Brigstocke **Cast** Emilia Jones, Kate Nash, Craig Roberts, Kim Cattrall **Released** Out now

**B**eginning in the 1990s as a series of books for kids, *Horrible Histories* sold millions of copies, becoming a publishing phenomenon and popularising learning about the past. In 2009, the BBC launched a critically acclaimed adaptation for their after-school schedule - a sketch show featuring tongue-in-cheek songs. While partly inspired by the likes of *Blackadder* and *Monty Python*, the ghost of *Carry On* movies and Frankie Howerd's *Up Pompeii!* are distinctly present in the *Horrible Histories* big screen upgrade. Fine company to be in.

The BBC's *Horrible Histories* boasted rare crossover appeal, turning it into a ratings winner. Parents and their children could watch it together, appreciating different things, including jokes and pop culture references for grown-ups alone. In being so humour-packed and focused on the dirtier, smellier, stranger aspects of our past and heritage, *Horrible Histories* set up its stall as

"Boudica's act of fierce rebellion against foreign overlords is surprisingly turned on its head"

postmodernist and ironically gross. The movie knows not to screw around with the formula, maintaining the smart mix of fourth wall-breaking asides, corny puns and scatological guffaws. The sketch format is ditched and replaced with a traditional feature-length storyline: Boudica's revolt against the Romans in 61 CE and the destruction of key Roman settlements.

Sick and tired of imperialist forces taxing and controlling her tribe, Kate Nash's Iceni queen and her band of warriors take off to Colchester, London and St Albans, looking for a fight and payback. Caught in between two warring factions are young Celt Orla (Emilia Jones), and all brains and no brawn legionnaire, Atti (Sebastian Croft). As the rest of the country gets mired in bloodshed and nativist rhetoric, these two team up, first becoming uneasy allies and then good friends.

Boudica's act of fierce rebellion against foreign overlords is surprisingly turned on its head. Nationalist fervour and her story as a symbol of

defiance is represented as Little Englander stuff. The film's political message favours tolerance, multiculturalism and European unity. It is here parallels between the 2016 EU referendum result, the sharp divide between Leave and Remain voters, and the film's bold take on history become strikingly obvious (and no doubt entirely intentional on the parts of the filmmaker and writing team). *Horrible Histories: The Movie - Rotten Romans* is the UK's first post-referendum film and it is staunchly on the side of Remain.

If the film stumbles at all, it's the fault of leaden camera work, a lack of directorial flair, unimaginative blocking of scenes and a clearly restrictive budget. What we get is an epic narrative that can't afford epic production value, and is forced therefore to get by on bags of charm alone. The ensemble cast, including Craig Roberts as a brilliantly petulant Emperor Nero and Hollywood star Kim Cattrall playing his scheming mother, give it their panto best, while the script's gag ratio provides us with more hits than misses.





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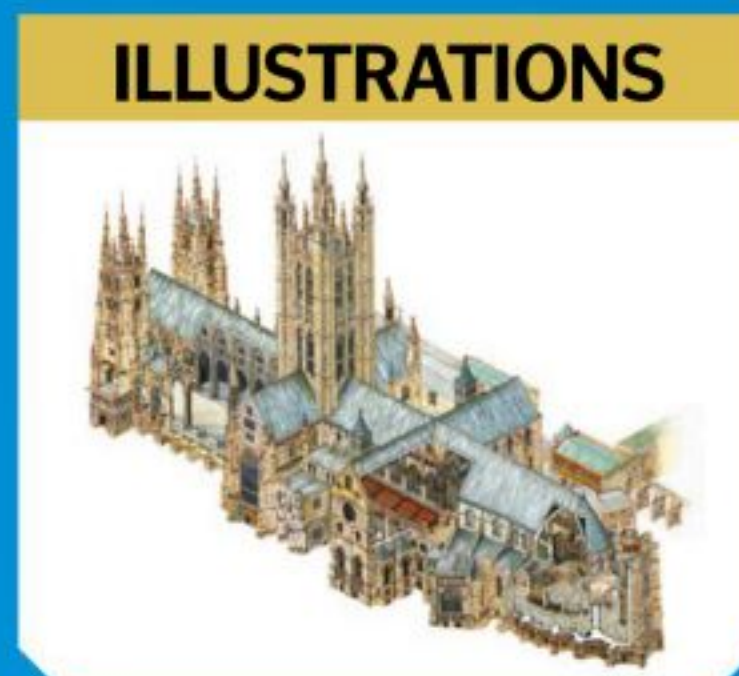


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# HISTORY HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen



## BLACKKKLANSMAN

Director Spike Lee Starring John David Washington, Laura Harrier, Adam Driver Country United States Released 2018

A comical but powerful biographical film that offers a timely commentary on the current political climate

**VERDICT** A compelling film that balances both fact and fiction

**01** Ron Stallworth, played by John David Washington, really was the first black police officer to work at the Colorado Springs police department. Just like in the film, his first undercover assignment was at a Stokely Carmichael event.

**02** While at the Stokely Carmichael event, Stallworth meets Patrice Dumas, an activist and college student who becomes his love interest. Played by Laura Harrier, Dumas is a fictional character, inspired by the women of the Black Power movement.

**03** The film accurately portrays Stallworth using his white co-worker, Flip, as a stand-in for his meetings with the KKK. However, the identity of the real Flip has never been revealed and so everything about him in the film, including being Jewish, is fictional.

**04** Stallworth really did ring up David Duke, the Grand Wizard of the KKK, to get his membership expedited. Duke signed it personally and when he visited Colorado Springs in 1979, Stallworth was assigned to protect him - Duke was unaware of his true identity.

**05** At the end of the film, Stallworth reveals his true identity to Duke in a phone call and then hangs up. However, this is purely fictional and Ron did not speak about his investigation until his memoir, the basis for the film, was released in 2014.



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# NEXT ISSUE

ALL ABOUT  
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**Printed by** Wyndeham Peterborough, Storey's Bar Road, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, PE1 5YS

**Distributed by** Marketforce, 5 Churchill Place, Canary Wharf, London, E14 5HU [www.marketforce.co.uk](http://www.marketforce.co.uk) Tel: 0203 787 9060  
ISSN 2052-5870

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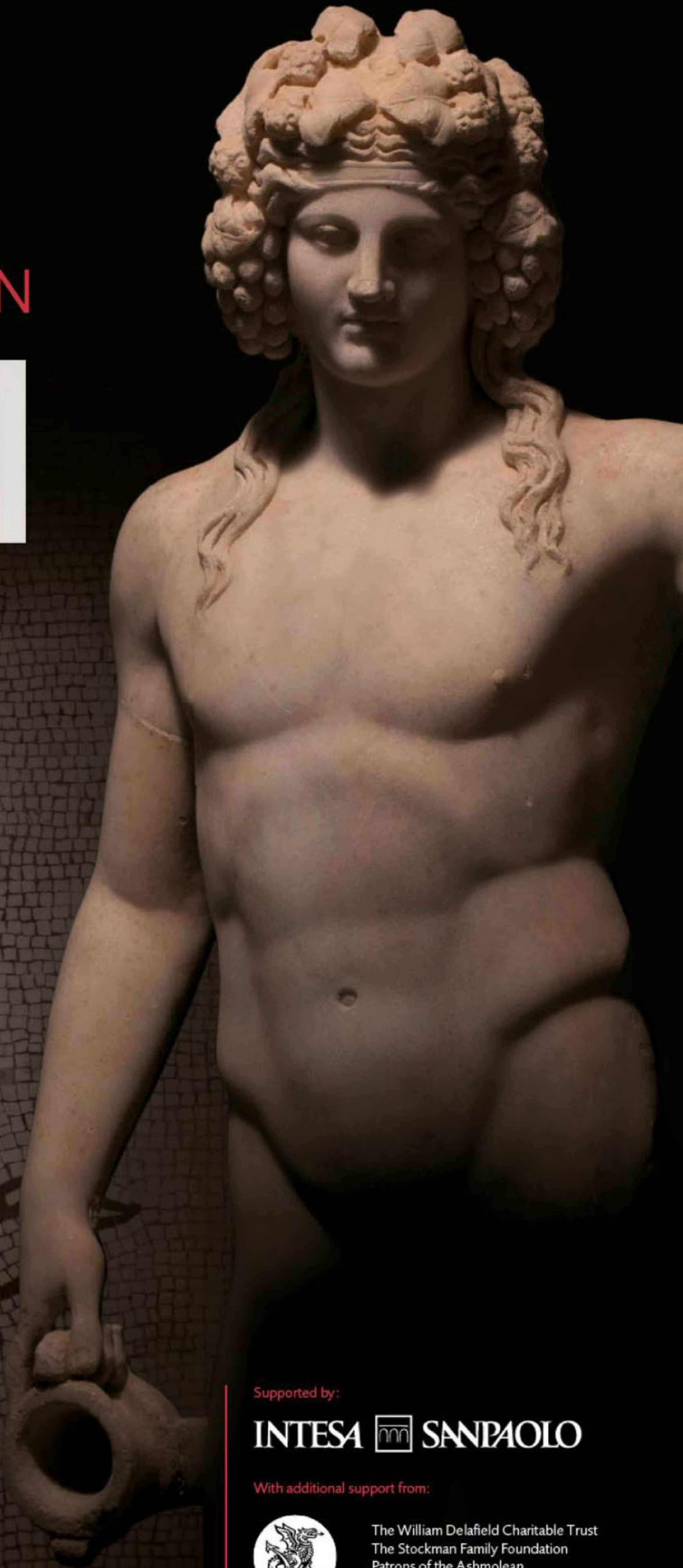
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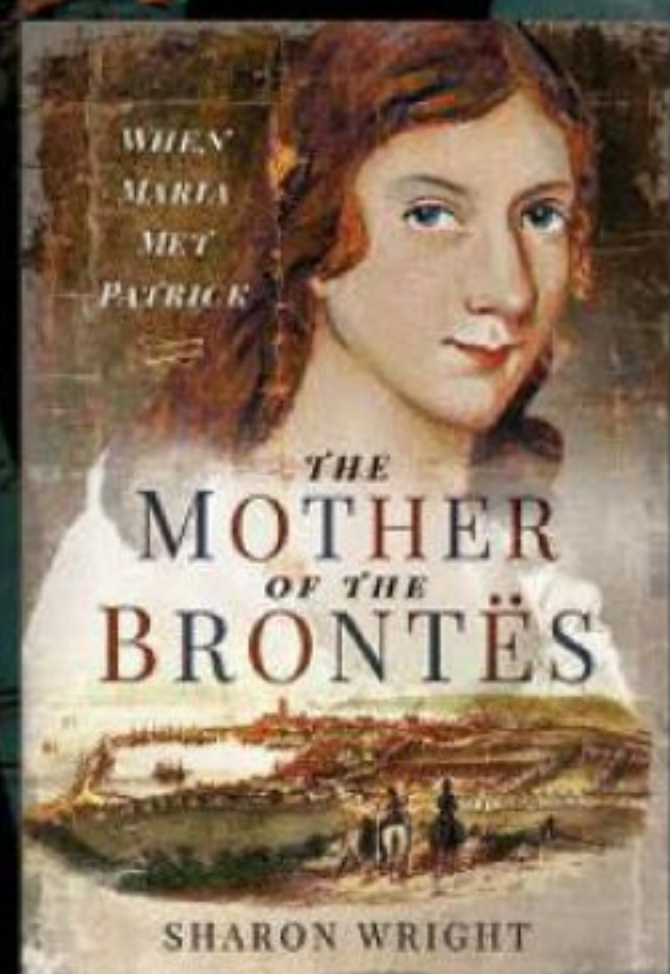
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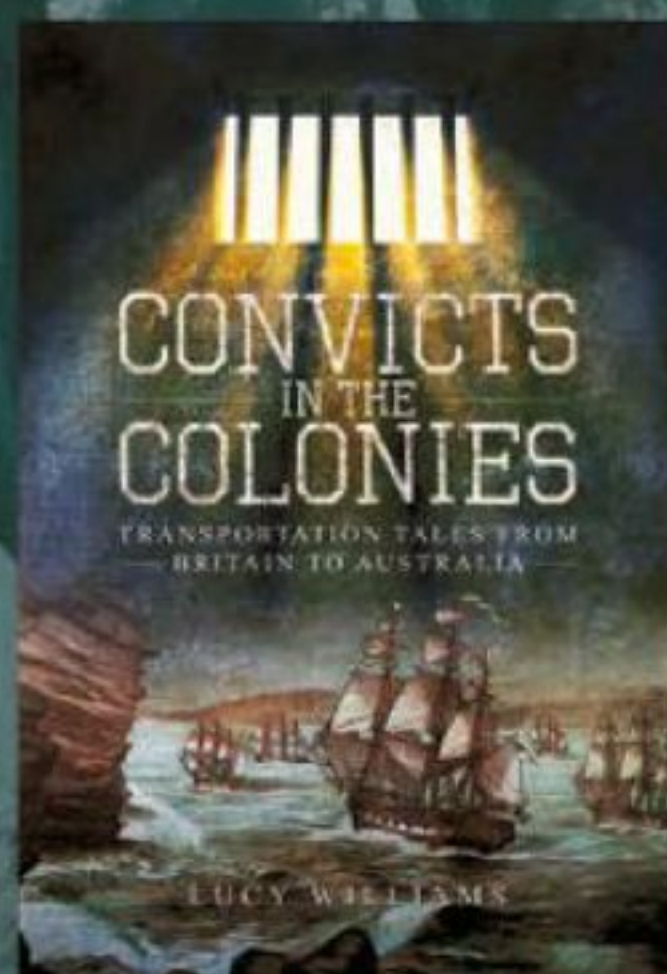
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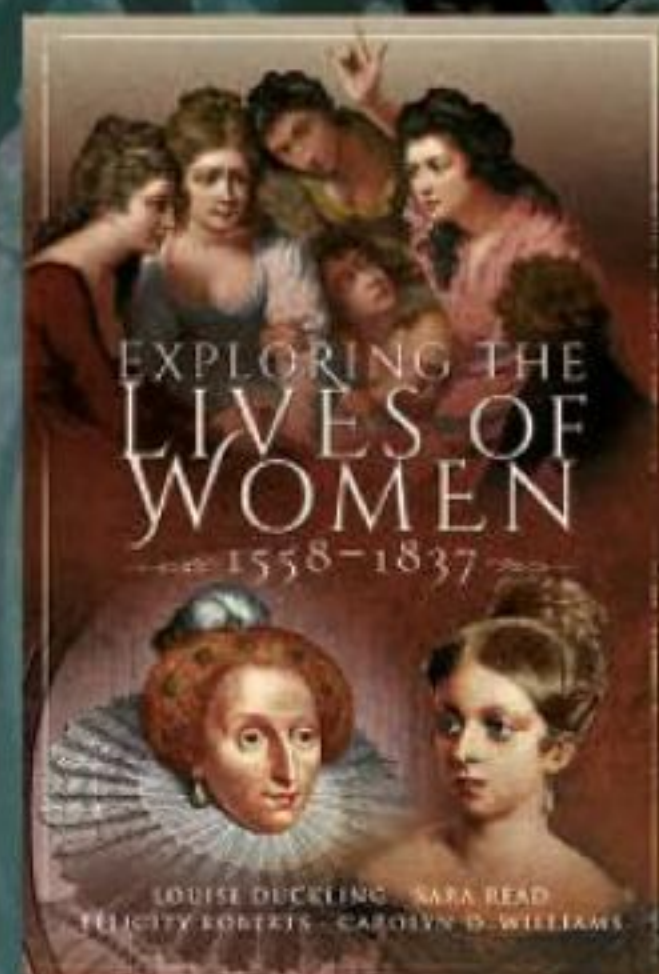
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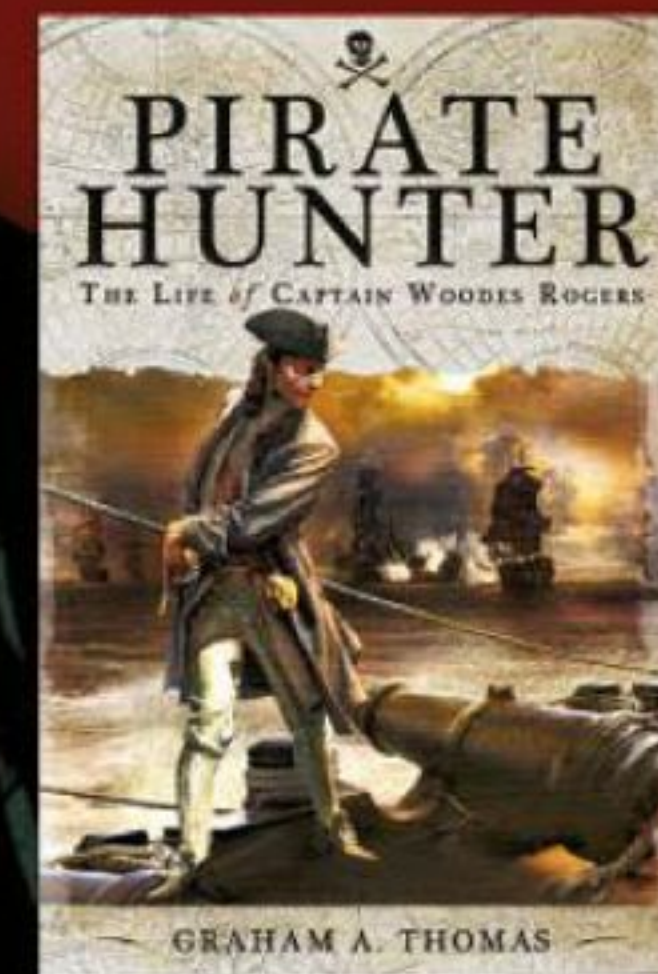
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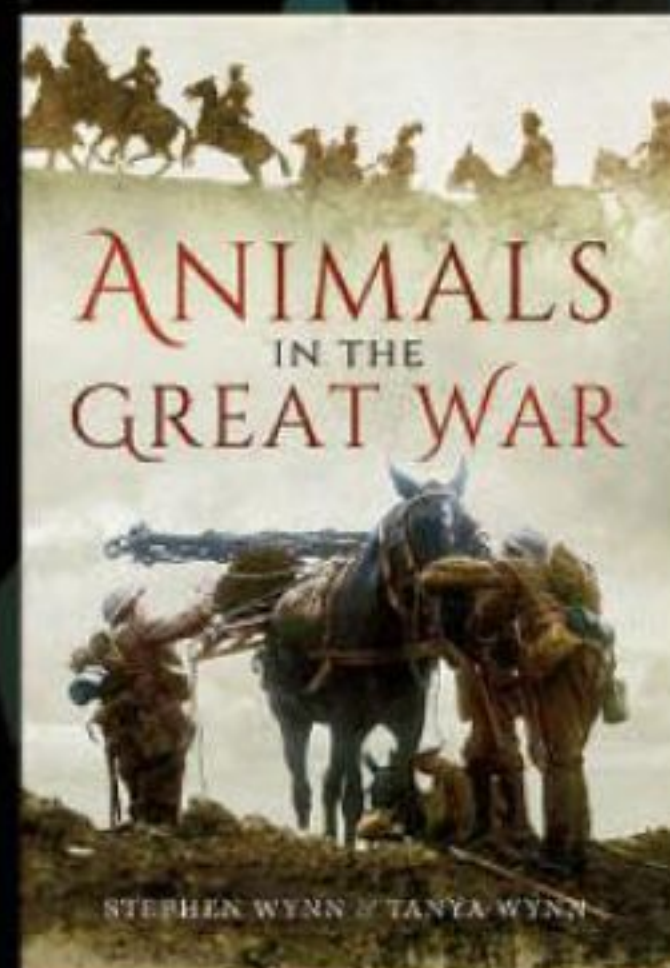
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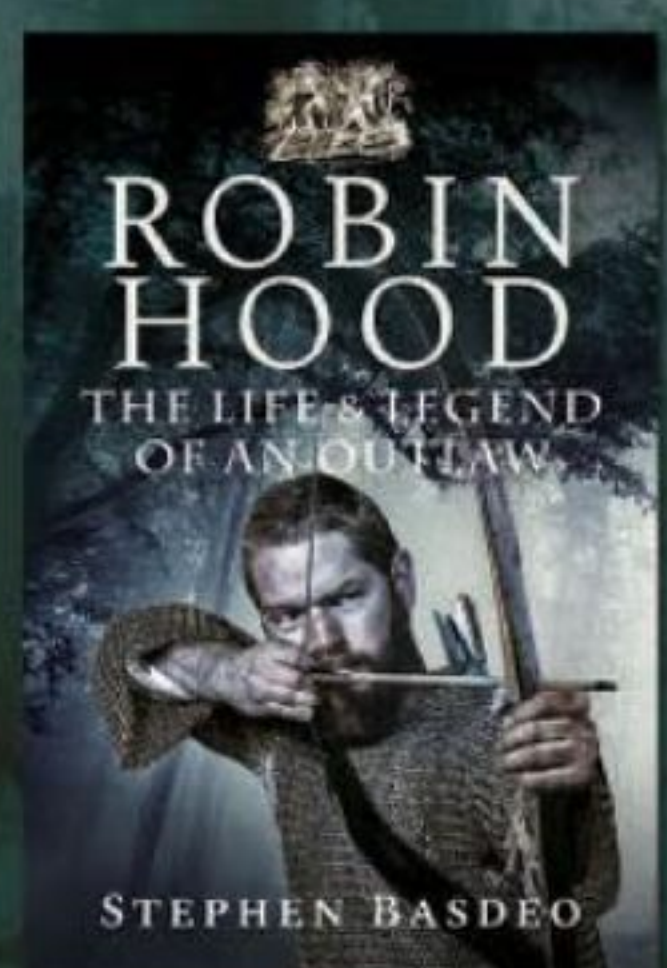
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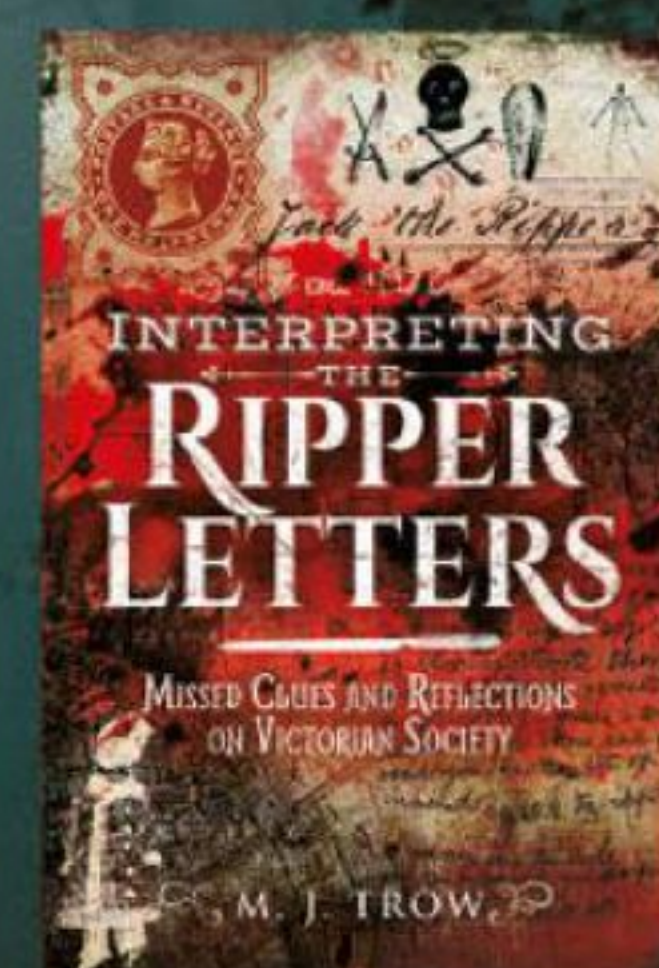
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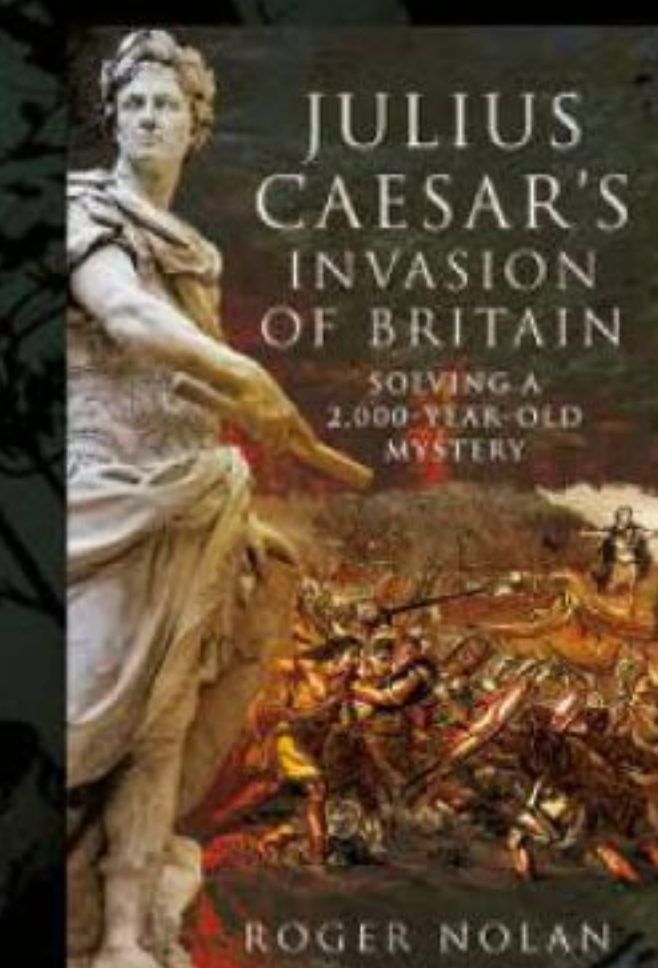
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